



THE

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JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from the Appendix, 1742.

Conclusion of the SPEECH of C. Saliustius Crispus, begun in our Appendix to last Year, p. 657, in the Debate on the Motion for a Committee to inquire into the Conduct of Robert Earl of Orford for Ten Years past.



OR this Reason, Sir, if the Case were such as I have just mentioned: If from thence I thought myself bound in Duty and Affection to the best of Parents, as well as out of regard to myself, to promote an Inquiry, in order to vindicate a Character in which I glory, and from which I hope to reap Honour as long as I live, I should at the present Crisis,

and till I saw my Country out of Danger, suspend my aiming at that Satisfaction, not only for the Reason A I have mentioned with regard to our Character at foreign Courts, but because an Inquiry into any Minister's Conduct always has, and always will increase the Violence of those Animosities, which must reign amongst us as long as we are a free People; for let a Minister be never so innocent, let the Inquiry be never so strict and impartial, let his Justification be as clear as the Sun, there will remain some cloudy Minds C where no Truth can penetrate, and the Animosity of such will receive fresh Vigour from their Disappointment. On the other hand, let a Minister be never so guilty, let his Sentence be never so moderate, D there will be some, perhaps many, whose Friendship will obstruct the A Raye

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Rays of Truth : They will think, he has met with Injustice, and their Revenge will add Violence to their Animosity. Thus the Nation will be drawn up in two opposite Parties ; and the Dispute will be carried on with more violent Animosities, than any of our present Divisions. Is this a proper Time to create such a Dispute or Division ? Our Enemies abroad would certainly offer Assistance to the offended Party at home, and their Disappointment or Revenge might smother those Yearnings which would otherwise arise in Favour of the Peace and Safety of their Country.

Thus, Sir, as I think we have at present no Cause, and as, I think, this would be a very improper Time for setting up any Inquiry into the late Conduct of our publick Affairs : As these were the two chief Arguments that prevailed with me to be against the last Motion for an Inquiry ; and as both these militate as strongly against the Inquiry now proposed, I must give my Negative to the noble Lord's Motion.

This was answered by P. Decius Mus, the Purport of whose Speech was as follows, viz.

Mr. President,

I Believe, Sir, every Man present in this House, will readily excuse the young Gentleman who first opposed this Motion, for giving his Negative to the Question. I believe, no one expects his Approbation to such a Question ; because, I am convinced, he thinks, that the noble Lord whose Conduct is now proposed to be inquired into, was never guilty of any Crime, nor suspected to be so by any Gentleman of Fortune and Character in the Kingdom. He may, perhaps, have now and then heard a Huzza upon an unlucky Occasion among the Mob in the Streets ; but surely no

Gentleman would be so impolite, except in this Place where we are in Honour obliged to speak our Minds freely, as to insinuate to the Son the least Suspicion, that his Father had plundered his Country, A misapplied the publick Money, and formed a Scheme for overturning the Constitution. I should not have been so personal, Sir, if I had not thought it absolutely necessary to say what was proper for preventing the Hon. Gentleman's strong Assertions from having any Weight in this House. He may believe what he asserts to be true : I am persuaded he does ; but he cannot be supposed to know the Fact, therefore his Assertion can have no Authority ; and, I believe, there are C many Gentlemen in this House, who are in the same Circumstances with him.

But, Sir, I would have that Gentleman, and every other Gentleman to take Care what they say, when they insinuate, that no Gentleman D of Sense and Fortune, unless he be a Jacobite or Republican, has the least Suspicion of the noble Lord's Conduct now under our Consideration. Haye not they upon a former Occasion heard many Gentlemen in this House, not only declare their having E such Suspicions, but give, what I thought, incontestable Reasons for shewing, that those Suspicions are well grounded. I believe, none of those Gentlemen will be directly charged with being a Man of no Fortune or Character, or with being F a Jacobite or Republican ; and they have upon all Occasions shewn themselves to be Men of as good Sense as those who assert the contrary. It would be unlucky for his Majesty, and his Family, as well as for our present happy Constitution, if all G were Jacobites or Republicans that suspect our late Minister's Conduct : His Majesty would find many of them, perhaps a Majority, both in his

his Army, and among his Place-men, who, tho' they dissemble their Sentiments at present, would certainly declare themselves openly, and take Measures accordingly, upon the first favourable Opportunity. Those who have a true Regard for the Security of his Majesty's Government, will be extremely cautious of propagating such Accusations. It was the Custom of King Charles Ist's Court, in the Beginning of his Reign, to tax all those who opposed their arbitrary Measures with being *Puritans*: What was the Consequence? Most of those Men actually became so, and thereby made the *Puritans* such a powerful Party in the Kingdom, as at last pulled down that unfortunate King from the Throne he sat on, and, *de fond en comble*, overturned the Constitution of our Government.

As there are certainly great Complaints without Doors, of Misapplication and Corruption: As this Fact is proved by the Testimony of many Gentlemen in this House, who have no Places, Pensions, or Preferments to bestow, and, consequently, are better Judges than those that have; if I were a Placeman and a Friend to our late Minister, as all, I think, of his Friends are, tho', from the Complaisance, or, perhaps, Diffimulation of those I conversed with, I had never heard of there being any such Complaints without Doors, yet from the Testimony of so many Gentlemen who are the best Judges of the People's Sentiments, I should certainly believe the Fact, and as a Friend to the Minister, or to my Country, should join in this Motion, in order to vindicate my Friend if innocent, or expose him to the Justice of the Nation if guilty.

That all the Titles, Honours, Pensions, Places and other Favours of the Crown, have for twenty Years past been disposed of to none but such as voted in Parliament, or at

Elections, according to the Direction of the Minister: That within these ten Years several Persons of high Rank and great Merit have been dismissed from all the Offices they held at the Pleasure of the Crown, A for no other known or assignable Reason, but because they opposed the Minister in Parliament: That Officers in the Army and Navy who got themselves Seats in this House, and voted as they were bid, have got Preferments out of their Rank, B the Disappointment of Officers of longer Service and greater Merit in their military Capacity: These Things are known to all Men, both within Doors and without; and are of themselves a strong Presumption, if not a certain Proof, that our Minister had a formed Design to overthrow our Constitution, by establishing a corrupt Influence in Parliament.

To tell us, that the King disposes of his Favours himself, often without the Advice of the Minister, whose Department they properly belong to, D can be of no Weight in this House. By our Constitution the King can do no wrong; but every Minister is answerable to Parliament, if the King by his Advice, or even by the Advice of another Minister, does any Thing that is wrong with regard E to his Department. As soon as he discovers such illegal Practices, he ought to advise the King against it, and if he finds his Master will not take his Advice, he ought directly to throw up his Employment, and impeach the Minister who has given such wicked Advice to his Sovereign.

Sir, it is a new Doctrine in this Nation, and absolutely inconsistent with our Constitution, to tell us, that his Majesty may, and ought, in the disposal of Offices or Favours, to consider Gentlemen's Behaviour in this House. Let his Majesty be never so well convinced of the Wisdom, and Uprightness of his Measures, he G ought

ought not to take the least Notice of what is said or done by any particular Man in this House. He is a Traitor to our Constitution that advises his Majesty to do so; and I am sorry the Expression fell from the Hon. Gentleman, because it will be supposed that he is conscious, or has heard of something of this Nature being done. If Reports are carried to his Majesty, with regard to the Behaviour of any particular Gentleman in this House, or at an Election, he ought to do with them as it is said King *William* did with the Papers of a Plot he had discovered. By perusing one of them, he found reason to suspect, some of his Courtiers had been concerned: Whereupon he threw them all into the Flames, that they might not furnish him with Suspicions against those he took to be his Friends. The same Monarch shewed another Instance of his Generosity, and of his Regard for our Constitution: A Post in the Army having fallen vacant, the Gentleman who had the next Right to it, happened to be a Member of this House, and one that had opposed the Court, which few Officers do now a-days: The Ministers, as usual, were against his Preferment, because he had opposed the King's Measures in Parliament; but the King told them, the Gentleman had always behaved well as an Officer, and he had nothing to do with his Behaviour in Parliament; so gave him the Commission he had by his Rank a Right to. This was acting like the King of a free People, and it might be expected from him, because he was brought up in a Country where the People had some Rights and Privileges to pretend to. Every Sovereign of these Kingdoms ought to act in the same Manner, he must act so as long as we have an independent Parliament, otherwise he will get no Ministers to serve him, if they have a Regard to their

A own Safety; for tho' by our Constitution our King can do no wrong, and therefore we cannot call him to an Account, yet every Minister, in his proper Department, is answerable for the King's Behaviour as well as his own, in the Business belonging to that Department, and, consequently, is for his own Safety obliged to throw up, if the King does any Thing by himself, and without or against his Advice, which seems to be inconsistent with our Constitution.

B Suppose, Sir, a Minister thinks the Measures right, and for the Benefit of the Nation: Suppose they really are so; yet he may be guilty of corrupt Practices in procuring their being approved of in Parliament. C If he threatens a Member with the Loss of his Place, or with a Denial in any reasonable Suit he is to make to the Crown, as a Consequence of his opposing that Measure, or what are called the King's Measures in Parliament: If by his Conduct he shews, that this will be the Consequence of opposing any Court Candidate at Elections, or any Court Measure in Parliament, he is guilty of corrupt Practices; and therefore this Crime is not so much a Crime of the Mind as the E Hon. Gentleman imagines; for I do not know of our having ever admitted in this Kingdom the Jesuitical Maxim, That the End justifies the Means. But suppose this Crime F to be merely a Crime of the Mind, do not our Common-Law Courts often try and punish such Crimes? Murder is a malicious killing: Malice is a Crime that consists in the Mind only; because killing may in itself be an innocent, even a meritorious Action, as in the Case of Self-defence, or killing a Highwayman or Pyrate; yet our Common-Law Courts often try, convict, and punish Men for Murder; and cannot the High Court of Parliament

do

do what is every Day done by a common Judge and Jury?

Sir, if the young Gentleman had been long in Parliament, he would not have laid so much Stress upon Parliamentary Appropriations, or Accounts delivered into Parliament, as he seems to do. Every one who knows how superficially our Estimates and Accounts have been look'd into by Parliament for many Years past, must know, that they can be no Restraint, or but a very slender one, upon a Minister's Conduct. A future Service may be over-rated in the Estimate, a past Service may be over-charged in the Account, without its being taken the least Notice of by Parliament; and therefore, a Minister may purloin considerable Sums from what is appropriated to, and supposed to have been faithfully laid out in the publick Service, and apply them towards his own Use, or what is worse, towards corrupting the Voters at Elections or in Parliament. The *Hessian* Troops furnished us with an Example of the Possibility of this Practice: A certain Sum was every Year appropriated by Parliament for that Purpose, and Accounts delivered in as if it had been annually applied wholly to that Purpose; but by Accident it afterwards appeared, that a Part of that Money had been applied to another Use, I mean the Deficiency of the French Subsidy to Denmark, which they had engaged to pay in consequence of the Treaty of Hanover, and which we were so generous as to make good, tho' they were certainly more concerned in Interest in the Consequences of that Treaty than Britain was, whatever the Electorate of Hanover might be.

This shews, that the publick Money may be applied to other Uses than those to which it is appropriated, when a Minister has a Majority of this House at his Beck; for tho' this Discovery was by Acci-

dent made, it did not occasion so much as a Motion for an Inquiry into the Disposal of the publick Treasure, nor would any such Motion have now been made, I believe, if the Minister's Majority had A been as certain in this Parliament as it was in the two last; because Gentlemen have been quite tired out with making Motions for the Benefit of their Country, against a determined Majority in Parliament. This, Sir, likewise shews, that the B Multitude of Commissioners and Officers in the Treasury, notwithstanding there being too great a Number of both, can no Way endanger the Discovery of any such Misapplication, especially when the First Commissioner there has the Direction of the Secretary's Office, and every other Office in the Kingdom. The other Commissioners, and the Officers, either do not really know, how the Money issued by them is applied, or they all hang in a String, and will never make a Discovery, as long as they know that their chief Commissioner continues to be the chief Favourite of the Crown. This has been the Touch-stone of such Discoveries for many Years past, and always will be so, till we have a Parliament, independent and E resolute enough, to pull a suspected Minister from behind the Throne itself.

Then, Sir, with regard to the Civil List Revenue, considering how much of it may be drawn out by his Majesty's Warrant, and that the F Auditors are obliged to admit of such Warrants as sufficient Vouchers, I am surprised to hear it said, that a great Part of it may not be applied towards overturning our Constitution by corrupt Practices, instead of being applied, as it ought, towards supporting the Honour and Dignity of our Crown. Considering the many Pretences of legal Secret-Service Money that may be made

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made by Ministers, the most circumspect Sovereign may be imposed on; and therefore in Parliament it is no Derogation to the Character of our Sovereign, to treat his Warrants to the Treasury as we treat his Speeches to the Parliament. Tho' the Auditors of the Exchequer are obliged, as they ought to be, to admit his Majesty's Warrants as sufficient Vouchers, yet in this House we ought to look upon them as the Warrants of his Ministers, and consequently, ought to admit of them no farther than they appear reasonable. But what is of much greater Force in the present Question, and I am glad the Hon. Gentleman furnished me with an Opportunity to mention it, is this, it is generally reported without Doors, that his Majesty's Civil List Revenue is greatly in Debt, that many of his Servants and Tradesmen, who ought to be paid quarterly at least, are above a Twelvemonth in Arrear: I have no legal Authority for saying so, and every one may guess at the Reason why I have not; but I can affirm, and, I believe, most Gentlemen in this House know, that there is such a Report: As this concerns the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, this Report alone obliges us to inquire into it, if we have a Mind to act up to our Character as the grand Inquest of the Nation. Even a common Inquest does not wait till Informers come to them: If they have the least Intelligence of any Nuisance or publick Crime, they send for such Persons as, they think, can give Information: They examine them in the most solemn Manner, and if from thence the Intelligence they had, appears true or probable, they make a Presentment, in order for a Prosecution. This Inquiry, even when it goes the length of a Presentment, is no Prosecution: The Persons accused have still an Opportunity to justify them-

selves; and so they would have in Case of a Parliamentary Inquiry, and even a Report against them, which should make all Gentlemen the more ready to enter into such Inquiry; because frequent Inquiries of this Kind, would take away all Hopes of Concealment, which, of all Checks, is the greatest upon the Evil-minded; and no Man could suffer without having an Opportunity to justify himself, if innocent.

I hope, it will now appear, that from the general Report without Doors, and from the Probability as well as Possibility of the Fact, we have great Reason to suspect, that the Minister whose Conduct is now proposed to be inquired into, has for several Years been carrying on a Design to overturn our happy Constitution, by illegally applying all the Favours of the Crown, and some Part of the publick Money, towards gaining a corrupt Influence in Parliament and at Elections. If this does not furnish us with a sufficient Cause for setting up a Parliamentary Inquiry into his Conduct, nothing ever did, nothing ever can; and as to the present Time's being proper for that Purpose, I am surprised to hear our present foreign Danger pleaded as a Pretence for delaying that Inquiry, when it is really the strongest Reason for entering upon it directly. Without such an Inquiry our Government can recover no Confidence among our People at home, and, consequently, can recover no Confidence among our antient Allies abroad, the Recovery of which is absolutely necessary for enabling us to form such a Confederacy as may obviate the foreign Danger we happen to be in at present. But say Gentlemen, if you enter into such an Inquiry, you'll have no Time to consider, and take proper Measures with regard to foreign Affairs. Sir, in this House, we have nothing to do with the Direction

section of foreign Affairs, except when we have such Ministers as have, by their former Conduct shewn, they ought not to be trusted, which cannot be the Case of our new Ministers: On the other hand, those to whom his Majesty intrusts the Direction of our foreign Affairs, have nothing or very little to do with the Inquiries of this House, unless they are resolved to screen the Guilty, which, I am sure, none of them will pretend to, or at least openly avow; therefore, these two Affairs can neither interfere nor interrupt one another; and, I believe, the Supplies necessary for carrying into Execution the foreign Measures his Majesty may resolve on, will be more readily agreed to in this House, and more chearfully advanced by the People, if it be found, that we are in earnest, and resolved to go through with an Inquiry: Whereas, the granting of them will otherwise meet with great Obstructions in this House, and the raising of them with great Grumblings among the People; so that if we have a Mind to save Time with regard to our foreign Affairs, we ought to enter into the Inquiry now proposed, because, in every other Respect, it will make the publick Business go on easily, and without Interruption from an Opposition, either within Doors or without.

Thus, Sir, every Argument that has been advanced against the Motion now before you, appears, upon due Consideration, to be an Argument in its Favour. This is my Opinion: I hope, I have shewn sufficient Ground for my Opinion, and therefore, I shall most heartily concur with the noble Lord in his Motion.

The next Speech I shall give, was that made by Cn. Cornelius Cethagus, the Purport of which was thus.

Mr. President,
SIR,

AS I never had any Share in the Conduct of our publick Affairs, it cannot be supposed, that I have any Reason, upon my own Account, for opposing an Inquiry; and as I have but lately come into the World, and cannot pretend to be much acquainted with the Nature of State Affairs, it is with great Diffidence I offer to give my Opinion in a Question of such Importance, especially when I see so many Gentlemen, whose Judgment and Candour I am so well convinced of, declare against the Opinion I am to give. If I thought there was at present any just Cause for an Inquiry of any Kind, and that the present is a proper Time for it, I am sure no Gentleman could more heartily concur in this Motion than I should; but after all that has been said in this, and former Debates upon the same Subject, I must freely declare, that, in my Opinion, we have no just Cause for an Inquiry of any Kind; and, I think, an Inquiry at this critical Time could be attended with no Benefit, and might be the Cause of inevitable Ruin to our Country.

EThe Suspicions, Murmurs, or Complaints without Doors, and the Rank or Sort of People among whom these Suspicions, Murmurs or Complaints prevail, are general Facts which can admit of no Evidence. We might as well pretend to prove, that the Majority of the People are of a brown or a fair Complexion. Such Facts must depend upon every particular Gentleman's own Judgment and Knowledge, and can never be urged with any Weight by one Gentleman for convincing another; therefore I cannot think, that the Suspicions, Reports or Complaints of the People without Doors, can ever properly be made use of in this House as an Argument for an Inquiry. We ought upon all Occasion

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sions to enter into the Reason of Things : If the Conduct of our publick Affairs has been wrong, no Matter whether it is complained of or no, we ought to inquire into it even tho' it had been, and was still approved of by the Generality of A People without Doors. The Measures of the last Administration of Queen Anne were very generally approved of by the People, at least by those we commonly call the Mob : They continued to be so even after his late Majesty's Accession ; yet, B nevertheless, the Parliament not only inquired into those Measures, but impeached or attainted most of the Chief Ministers. Upon the other hand, if we think the Measures have been right in the main, we ought not to trouble ourselves, or C disturb the Nation, with an Inquiry, notwithstanding any Clamours that may have been raised against them ; and therefore, when an Inquiry is moved for, we ought never to consider what is said or suspected without Doors, but what appears to us D within.

The Clamours and Suspicions without Doors being thus set aside, let us see what is said within. Gentlemen tell us, they suspect, that for several Years past all the Favours of the Crown, and large Sums of E publick Money, have been applied, towards gaining a corrupt Influence in Parliament and at Elections ; but they have offered no Proof nor any one Fact as a Foundation for this Suspicion, except that of his Majesty's displacing two or three Officers in his Army ; and even in this Case, they do not positively assert, that those Officers were displaced for opposing the King's Measures in Parliament, or that this was ever given as a Reason either by the King or by any of his Ministers. Sir, F would you take from the Crown the Power of preferring or cashiering Officers in the Army ? If you do, I

am sure, you will soon have neither Obedience nor Discipline in your Army. Nay, some General Officer of great Credit in the Army might very probably, in a short Time, usurp the Regal Power, and set up a military Government. I cannot therefore think, that Gentlemen design to take from the Crown the absolute Power of preferring or cashiering the Officers of our Army ; and yet this would be the certain Consequence of making such a Fact as this the Foundation of a Parliamentary Inquiry into the Conduct of any Minister.

I must therefore think, that, whatever Gentlemen may in this Case suspect, their Suspicion is without any Foundation ; and with regard to the Disposal of publick Money, their Suspicion is still more groundless ; for here they have not been pleased to mention so much as one Fact, no, nor the least particular Circumstance, whereon such a Suspicion as they pretend to have, can be founded ; and from the Nature of Things it is, in my Opinion, evident, that no such Thing can be practised. The Law passed but a few Years ago, for preventing Bribery and Corruption at Elections, has rendered this Practice absolutely impossible, or at least E so dangerous, that no Minister in his Senses will attempt it. By that Law, every Elector, at every Election, is to swear, that he has not received by himself or by any Person in Trust for him, directly or indirectly, any Sum or Sums of Money, Office, Place, or Employment, Gift or Reward, or any Promise or Secuity for any such, in order to give his Vote at that Election ; and if he swears falsely, he thereby incurs the Pains and Penalties inflicted by Law in Cases of wilful and corrupt Perjury. By another Clause in the same Act, every Elector who shall receive or take any Money or other Reward, by Way of Gift, Loan, or other

other Device, or agree or contract for any Money, Gift, Office, Employment, or other Reward whatsoever, to give his Vote, or to forbear giving his Vote at any Election; or if any Person by himself, or any Person employed by him, shall by any Gift or Reward, or by any Promise, Agreement or Security for any Gift or Reward, corrupt or procure any Person to give his Vote, or to forbear to give his Vote at any Election; the Offender, that is to say, the Corruptor as well as the Corrupted, shall for every Offence forfeit 500L besides being for ever after disabled to hold any Office or Franchise. And by a third Clause, any Offender against that Act, who shall, within twelve Months, discover and convict any other Offender, is himself indemnified and discharged from all Penalties and Disabilities incurred by his Offence against that Act.

This, Sir, is the Substance of that Act: I have not troubled you with having it read, because of its having been so lately passed; but as Gentlemen seem, in these our Days, to be full of Suspicions, if any one suspects that I have not recited faithfully, he may have the Act itself read at your Table; and from this Act I must desire Gentlemen to consider, what a Condition a Minister would be in, that should attempt to convert the publick Money, or even the Offices or Employments in the Disposal of the Crown, towards gaining a corrupt Influence at most of our Elections. He must for this Purpose employ a great Number of Agents and under Agents, and all of them must be Persons of low Rank and mean Condition; for considering the Penalties, no Man of Character or Fortune would be employed. Thus he must perpetually lie at the Mercy of Scoundrels, who might obtain an Indemnity for themselves, and very probably a high Reward, by informing against him. Is this a Condition

any Minister of common Sense would chuse to be in? Would it be possible for him to carry on such a Practice for any Number of Years, without so much as one Information against him or any of his Agents?

Now, Sir, if the Suspicions, upon which, and upon which alone, this Motion is founded, are themselves without any Foundation, must we not agree, that the Motion itself has no real Foundation? and, consequently, that we have no just Cause for any such Inquiry as is now proposed? For as to the Civil List's being under Suspicion of Debt, we have no Call to inquire into that Affair till an Application be made to us for supplying the Deficiency. Contingencies may run the Civil List Revenue behind hand, but if his Majesty is so good as to resolve to make up the Deficiency by a future Saving, I must think, we have nothing to do with it; and if we should inquire into it, I think, his Majesty would be in the right to insist upon our making the Deficiency good, in order to make us pay for our Officiousness.

But suppose we had good Reason to suspect Misconduct or Misdemeanors in the late Management of our publick Affairs, the present would be a very improper Time to inquire into them, because it is impossible to inquire into the Conduct of any Minister of State, without discovering Secrets which our Enemies might make great Use of against us. Even the noble Lord whose Conduct is now proposed to be inquired into, as one of his Majesty's Privy Council, must have had some hand at least in advising most, if not all our foreign Measures, so that such a general Inquiry into his Conduct, as is now proposed, would lead us of course into an Inquiry into all our late publick Measures both foreign and domestick. And moreover, by the very Nature of the Office he was in,

he must have had the issuing of all Sums applied to secret Service, consequently an Inquiry into his Conduct would necessarily lead us into an Inquiry what Sums were issued for that Purpose, when they were issued, and how they were applied; A which would certainly discover many of the Secrets of our Government, and such as it might be of great Importance to our Enemies to know. For this Reason, Sir, I must be against a general Inquiry into the Conduct of this or any other Minister B of State, at a Time when we are engaged in one dangerous War, and upon the Verge, perhaps, of engaging in another.

To these Reasons I must add, Sir, that, whatever other Gentlemen may think of the Time proposed by this Motion to be inquired into, I must think, it would be very hard to bring a Minister to a general Account for so many Years past, especially considering the many large Sums that must have passed through his Hands in that Time. As Estimates and Accounts of all publick Monies were regularly delivered into Parliament, and those Estimates and Accounts as regularly approved of by Parliament, he had Reason to look upon that Approbation as an annual Discharge, and that therefore he had no Occasion to be very exact and careful in preserving the Vouchers, or in making Memorandums of the Uses to which those large Sums were respectively applied; consequently we must suppose, that many of the Vouchers F are now lost, and that he has forgot many publick Transactions which required a large Expence. For this Reason, I must join with an Hon. Gentleman who spoke against the last Motion of this Nature we had before us, in thinking, that it would be as unjust to call this Minister to a general Account for ten Years back, as it would be to make a

Steward come to a new Account, notwithstanding his having settled his Accounts yearly, and delivered up the Vouchers. This, I think, would in private Life be both unjust and oppressive, and as I think it would be equally so with regard to a Minister, therefore I cannot agree to the Motion.

This was answered chiefly by Julius Florus, whose Speech was to this Effect.

Mr. President,
SIR,

A S the Hon. Gentleman who spoke lately against this Motion, has not been long in this House, one ought in Charity to believe, there is some Sincerity in the Professions he makes, of his being ready to agree to a Parliamentary Inquiry, when he sees Cause and a convenient Time for it; but if he knew how often those Professions have been made by those who, C Upon all Occasions, have opposed every Kind of Inquiry, he would save himself the Trouble of making any such, because they are believed to be sincere by very few, within Doors or without. He may, 'tis true, have no Occasion, upon his own Account, to be afraid of an Inquiry of any Sort; but when a Gentleman has contracted a Friendship, or any of his near Relations have contracted a Friendship for one who may be brought into Danger by an Inquiry, it is very natural to suppose, that such a Gentleman's Opposition to an Inquiry does not proceed entirely from Motives of a publick Nature; and if that Gentleman follows the Advice of some of his Friends, I very much question, if he will ever see Cause, or a convenient Time, for an Inquiry into the late Conduct of our publick Affairs. As a Parliamentary Inquiry must always be founded upon Suspicion,

tions, and not upon known Facts, or manifest Crimes, it will always be easy to find Reasons or Pretences for avering those Suspicions to be groundless; and upon the Principle that a Parliamentary Inquiry must necessarily lay open the Secrets of our Government, no Time can ever be proper or convenient for such an Inquiry; because it is impossible to suppose a Time when our Government can have no Secrets which are of any Importance to the Nation.

This, Sir, would be a most convenient Doctrine for Ministers, because it would put an End to all Parliamentary Inquiries into the Conduct of our publick Affairs; and therefore, when I hear it urged, and so much insisted on by a certain Set of Gentlemen in this House, I must suppose their Hopes to be very extensive: I must suppose them to expect, that they and their Posterity will for ever continue to be the Ministers and Rulers of this Nation; which, if possible, would be more fatal to it than their having so long continued to be so. But this Doctrine has been so often contradicted by Experience, that I am surprised to hear Gentlemen insist upon it. Even this very Session has afforded us a convincing Proof, how little Foundation there is for saying, that a Parliamentary Inquiry must necessarily discover the Secrets of our Government. Surely, in a War with Spain, which must be carried on chiefly by Sea, if our Government have any Secrets, the Lords of the Admiralty must be intrusted with the most important of them; yet we have in this very Session, and without any Secret Committee too, made an Inquiry into the Conduct of the Lords Commissioners of our Admiralty: We have not only inquired into their Conduct, but we have censured it in such a Manner, as has put an End to the same Commissioners being any longer in-

A trusted with the Direction of that Branch of the publick Busines. Has that Inquiry discovered any of the Secrets of our Government? On the contrary, the Committee found they had no Occasion to dive into any of the Secrets of our Government: They found Cause enough for Censure without it; and none of the Commissioners pretended to justify their Conduct by Papers containing Secrets which ought not to be discovered.

B This, Sir, is so late and so strong a Proof of there being no necessary Connexion between a Parliamentary Inquiry and a Discovery of Secrets, which it behoves the Nation to conceal, that, I hope, Gentlemen will no longer insist upon this Danger as

C an Argument against the Inquiry now proposed, which of all others is the least liable to this Objection. The First Commissioner of the Treasury has nothing to do with the Application of Secret Service Money:

D He is only to take Care, that it be regularly issued from his Office, and that no more shall be issued upon that Head, than according to the then Conjunction of Affairs may seem to be necessary; as to the particular Application, it properly belongs to the Secretaries of State, or

E such other Persons as his Majesty shall employ; so that we cannot suppose, the Inquiry proposed will discover any Secrets relating to the Application of that Money, unless the noble Lord has acted as Secretary of State as well as First Com-

F missioner of the Treasury, or unless a great Part of the Money, drawn out for secret Services, has been delivered to himself, or to Persons employed by him, and applied by him or them towards gaining a corrupt Influence in Parliament and at Elections. Both these, indeed, he is most grievously suspected of, and both are Secrets which it very much behoves him to have concealed, but

it equally behoves the Nation to have them both revealed. His Country and he are, I shall grant, in this Case, equally tho' oppositely concerned ; for the Safety or Ruin of one or t'other depends upon the Fate of the Question ; and, in my Opinion, the violent Opposition made to this Motion, adds great Strength to the Suspicion.

I shall admit, Sir, that the noble Lord whose Conduct is now proposed to be inquired into, was one of his Majesty's most Hon. Privy Council, and that consequently he must have had a Share at least in advising all the Measures we have pursued, both abroad and at home ; but I cannot admit, that therefore, an Inquiry into his Conduct must necessarily occasion a Discovery of any Secrets that may be of dangerous Consequence to the Nation ; because we are not to inquire into the Measures themselves, or into the Wisdom or Uprightness of them, and consequently, can have no Call to look into any of the Government's Secrets relating to them. This has nothing to do with an Inquiry into his Conduct ; but there are several Suspicions spread abroad relating to his Conduct as a Privy Concellor, which, if true, would be of the last Importance to the Nation to have discovered. It has been strongly asserted, that he was not only a Privy Councillor, but had usurped the whole and sole Direction of his Majesty's Privy Council : It has been asserted, that he gave the Spanish Court the first Hint of the unjust Claim they afterwards set up against our South Sea Company, which was one of the chief Causes of the War between the two Nations : And it has been asserted, that this very Minister has given Advice to the French, what Measures to take upon several Occasions, in order to bring our Court into their Measures ; particularly, that he advised them to send the

A numerous Army they have this last Summer sent into Westphalia. What Truth there is in these Assertions, I shall not pretend to answer : The Facts are of such a Nature, that they must have been perpetrated with so much Caution and Secrecy, that it will be difficult to bring them to light, even by a Parliamentary Inquiry ; but the very Suspicion is Ground enough for setting up such an Inquiry, and for carrying it on with the utmost Strictness and Vigour ; which leads me to consider the Cause we now have for an Inquiry.

Upon this Subject, Sir, I must say, I am a good deal surprised to hear the Representatives of the People make so light of the Sentiments or Suspicions of the People. That there are Suspicions and Complaints among the People, and among the generality of the best Sort of People, is, 'tis true, a Fact we cannot easily prove against one that denies it ; no more than we could do, that the generality of our People are of a fair or a brown Complexion ; but if I should say, that the Majority of our People are Whites, I could not prove what I asserted, and yet I should look upon him as a very whimsical, or a very disingenuous Gentleman, that would deny it, and assert that the Majority of our People were Blackamores. Such Facts it is impossible to prove any other Way but by the Opinion of those who are the best Judges ; and surely a Country Gentleman who lives F most Part of his Time among the People, and has no Court Favours to bestow, as a Temptation for those he converses with to disguise their Sentiments, is a better Judge than one who seldom stirs out of the Purlieus of a Court, and converses G with none but such as expect Places or Preferments by his Favour. Therefore, if we judge of this Fact according to the only Evidence that can

can be had, that is, according to the Opinion of those who are the best Judges, we must conclude, that the Suspicions and Complaints of the People were never more general than they are against the late Conduct of our publick Affairs; and A this, by me, shall always be deemed a sufficient Cause for a Parliamentary Inquiry.

Whatever my Opinion of past Measures may be, I shall never be so vain, or so bigotted to my own Opinion, as without any Inquiry to determine against the Majority of my Countrymen. If I found the publick Measures generally condemned, let my private Opinion of them be never so favourable, I should be for an Inquiry, in order to convince the People of their Error, or at least to furnish myself with the most authentick Arguments for the Opinion I have embrac'd. The Desire of bringing other People into our Sentiments is so natural to Mankind, that I shall always suspect the Candour of those who, in Politicks or Religion, are against a free Inquiry. Besides, Sir, when the Complaints of the People are general against an Administration, or against any particular Minister, an Inquiry is a Duty we owe to our Sovereign as well as the People. We meet here to communicate to our Sovereign the Sentiments of his People: We meet here to redress the Grievances of the People. By performing our Duty in these two Respects, we shall always be able to establish the Throne of our Sovereign in the F Hearts of his People, and to prevent the People's being led into Insurrections or Rebellions by Misrepresentations or false Surmises. When the People complain, they must be in the right or in the wrong. If they are in the right, we are in G Duty bound to inquire into the Conduct of the Ministers, and punish those who shall appear to have been

the most guilty: If the People are in the wrong, we ought to inquire into the Conduct of our Ministers, in order to be able to convince the People that they have been misled. We ought not therefore, in any Question about an Inquiry, to be governed by our own Sentiments: We must be governed by the Sentiments of our Constituents, if we are resolved to perform our Duty, either as true Representatives of the People, or as faithful Messengers to our Sovereign. I will agree with the Hon. Gentleman, that if we are convinced, or suspect the publick Measures to be wrong, we ought to inquire into them, even tho' they are not much complained of by the People without Doors; but I cannot agree with him in thinking, that notwithstanding the Administration, or a Minister's being complained of by the People in general without Doors, we ought not to inquire into his Conduct, unless we are ourselves convinced that his Measures have been wrong. Without an Inquiry we can no more determine this Question, than a Judge can declare a Man innocent of any Crime laid to his Charge without a previous Trial or Inquisition. Common Fame is a sufficient Ground for an Inquiry at Common Law, and, for the same Reason, the general Voice of the People of *England*, ought always to be look'd on as a sufficient Ground for a Parliamentary Inquiry.

But say Gentlemen, what is this Minister accused of? What Crime is laid to his Charge? For unless some Misfortune can be said to have happened, or some Crime to have been committed, no Inquiry ought to be set on foot. Sir, the ill Posture of our Affairs both abroad and at home: The melancholy Situation we are in: The Distress we are now reduced to, is of itself a sufficient Cause for an In-

Inquiry, even supposing he were accused of no particular Crime or Misconduct. The Nation lies a bleeding, perhaps expiring: The Balance of Power has received a deadly Blow: Shall we acknowledge this to be the Case, and shall we not inquire whether it has happened by Mischance, or by the Misconduct, or perhaps the Malice prepense of our Minister here at home? Before the Treaty of Utrecht, it was the general Opinion, that in a few Years of Peace, we should be able to pay off most of our Debts: We have now been very near thirty Years in profound Peace, at least we have never been engaged in any War, but what we unnecessarily brought upon ourselves; and yet our Debts are near as great as they were when that Treaty was concluded. Is not this a Misfortune, and shall we make no Inquiry how this Misfortune has happened?

I am surprised to hear it said, that no Inquiry ought to be set on Foot, unless some publick Crime be known to have been committed. The Suspicion of any such Crime's having been actually committed, has always been deem'd a sufficient Reason for setting up an Inquiry. Is there not a Suspicion, that the publick Money has been applied towards gaining a corrupt Influence at Elections? Is it not become a common Expression, to say, The Floodgates of the Treasury are opened against a general Election? I shall desire no more than that every Gentleman who is conscious of this having been done, either for them or against them, would give his Vote in Favour of this Motion. Will any Gentleman say, this is not a Crime, when even private Corruption has such high Penalties inflicted upon it by express Statute? A Minister that commits this Crime, and makes use of the publick Money for that Purpose, adds Thieving and

Breach of Trust to the Crime of Corruption; and as the Crime, when committed by him, is of much more dangerous Consequence to our Constitution than when committed by a private Man, it becomes more properly the Subject of a Parliamentary Inquiry, and ought to be more severely punished. The Hon. Gentleman may much more reasonably tell us, that Porteous was never murder'd by the Mob at Edinburgh, because no Discovery of his Murderers could e-

B ver yet be made, notwithstanding the high Reward, as well as Pardon, offered, than to tell us, we cannot suppose that our Minister ever, by himself or his Agents, corrupted an Election, because no Information has as yet been brought against him; for nothing but a Pardon upon convicting the Offender has ever yet been offered in this Case, and how could any Informer expect such a Pardon, much less a Reward, when he knew, that the very Man against whom he was to inform, had not only the Distribution of all publick Rewards, but the packing of a Jury or Parliament against him? Sir, whilst such a Minister preserves the Favour of the Crown, and thereby the Exercise of its Power, we can never expect such an Information:

E Even Malice itself can never provoke such an Information; because, like all other Sorts of impotent Malice, it will rebound upon the Heart that conceived it.

This shews the Insignificance of the Act mentioned by the Hon. Gentleman, with regard to that Sort of Corruption which is properly called Bribery; and with regard to the other Sort of Corruption, which consists in giving or taking away those Posts, Pensions, or Preferments, which depend upon the arbitrary Will of the Crown, this Act is still more insignificant; because it is not necessary, it would even be ridiculous, in a Minister to tell any Man, that

that he gave or refused him a Post, Pension, or Preferment, on account of his voting for or against any ministerial Measure in Parliament, or any ministerial Candidate at an Election. If he makes it his constant Rule never to give a Post, Pension, or Preferment, but to those who vote for his Measures and his Candidates, and makes but a few Examples of dismissing those who vote otherwise, it will have the same Effect as when he declares it openly. Will any Gentleman say, that this has not been the Practice of the Minister whose Conduct is now proposed to be inquired into? Has he not declared in the Face of this House, that he will continue to make this his Practice? And will not this have the same Effect, as if he went separately and distinctly to every particular Man, and told him in Express Terms, Sir, If you vote for such a Measure, or such a Candidate, you shall have the first Preferment in the Gift of the Crown; if you vote otherwise, you must not expect to keep what you have. Gentlemen may deny they see the Sun in a clear Day, but if they have any Eyes, and do not wilfully shut them, or turn their Back towards him, I am sure no Man will believe, they are ingenuous in what they say; and therefore, I must think, the Hon. Gentleman was in the right who endeavoured to justify this Practice: It was more candid than to deny it; but as his Arguments have already been fully answered, I shall add nothing upon that Subject.

Gentlemen cry out, What! will you take from the Crown the Power of preferring or cashiering the Officers of our Army? No, Sir, this is neither the Design, nor will it be the Effect of our agreeing to this Motion. The King has at present an absolute Power of preferring or cashiering the Officers of our Army. It is a Prerogative he may make use of for the

Benefit or Safety of the Publick; but like other Prerogatiyes, it may be made a wrong Use of, and the Minister is answerable to Parliament when it is. When an Officer is preferred or cashiered, upon the Motive of his voting for or against any Court Measure or Candidate, it is a bad Motive, it is a wrong Use of this Prerogative, for which the Minister is answerable. We may judge of the Motive: We must judge from Circumstances or outward Appearances: From these we may condemn; and, I hope, we have still a Power to punish any Minister that shall dare advise the King to prefer or cashier upon such a Motive. Whether this Prerogative ought to remain as it is, without any Limitation, is a Question that has nothing to do in this Debate; but I must observe, that the Argument made use of for it, might with equal Weight be made use of for giving our King an absolute Power over every Man's Property; for a large Property will always give the Posseſſor a Command over a great Number of Men, whom he may arm and discipline if he pleases: I know of no Law for restraining it: I hope, there never will be any such; and I wish, our Gentlemen of Estates would make more use of this Power than they do, because it would contribute towards keeping our domes-tick as well as our foreign Enemies in Awe. For my Part, I think, a Gentleman who has earned his Commission by his Services, (in his military Capacity, I mean) or bought it with his Money, has as much a Property in it, as any Man has in his Estate, and ought to have it as well secured by the Laws of his Country: Whilst it remains at the absolute Will of the Crown, he must be a Slave to the Minister, unless he has some other Estate to depend on; and if the Officers of our Army long continue in that State of Sla-

Slavery in which they are at present, I am afraid, it will make Slaves of us all.

The only Method we have for preventing this fatal Consequence, as the Law now stands, is to make the best and most constant Use of A the Power we have, as Members of this House, to prevent any Minister's daring to advise the King to make a bad Use of this Prerogative; and as there is such a strong Suspicion, that this Minister has done so, we ought certainly to inquire into it, not only for the sake of punishing him, if guilty, but as a Terror to all future Ministers.

This, Sir, may therefore be justly reckoned among the many other sufficient Causes for the Inquiry proposed; and the Suspicion of the Civil List's being greatly in Debt is another; for if it is, it must either have been misapplied or profusely thrown away, which it is our Duty both to prevent and punish. It is inconsistent with the Honour of this Nation to have our King stand indebted to his Servants or Tradesmen, who may be ruined by a Delay of Payment: The Parliament has provided sufficiently for preventing this Dishonour's being brought upon the Nation; and if the Provision we have made should be misapplied or lavished, we must supply the Deficiency, we ought to do it, whether the King makes any Application for that Purpose or no; and the Reason is very plain, because, as we ought first to inquire into the Management of that Revenue, and punish those who have occasioned the Deficiency, they will certainly chuse to leave the Creditors of the Crown, and the Honour of the Nation, in a State of suffering, rather than advise the King to make an Application which will bring their Conduct into Question, and themselves, probably, to condign Punishment. Beside this, Sir,

there is at present another Reason, still stronger for promoting an Inquiry. As there is a great Suspicion, that the publick Money has been applied towards corrupting Voters at Elections and in Parliament, if the Civil List be in Debt, it gives Reason to presume, that some Part of this Revenue has, under the Pretence of Secret-Service Money, been applied to that wicked Purpose.

I shall conclude, Sir, with a few B Remarks upon the last Argument made use of against the Inquiry proposed. It has been said, that the Minister delivered in his Accounts annually: That those Accounts have been annually passed and approved of by Parliament; C and that therefore it would be unjust to call him now to a general Account, because the Vouchers may be now lost, or many expensive Transactions have slipt out of his Memory. 'Tis true, Sir, Estimates and Accounts have been annually D delivered in: The Forms of Proceeding made that necessary; but were any of those Estimates or Accounts ever properly inquired into? Were not all Questions for that Purpose rejected by the Minister's Friends in Parliament? Has not the Parliament always taken them upon Trust, and passed them without Examination? Can such a superficial passing, to call it no worse, be deemed a Reason for not calling him to a new and general Account? If the Steward to an Infant's Estate should annually, for twenty Years together, deliver in his Accounts to the Guardians; and if the Guardians, through Negligence, or for a Share of the Plunder, should annually pass his Accounts without any Examination, or at least without any Objection, would that be a Reason for saying, that it would be unjust in the Infant to call his Steward to an Account when he came of Age? especially,

cially if that Steward had built and furnished sumptuous Palaces, and had, during the whole Time, lived at a much greater Expence than his visible Income could afford, and yet nevertheless had amassed great Riches. The Publick, Sir, is always in a State of Infancy; therefore no Prescription can be pleaded against it, nor even a general Release, if there appears the least Cause to suspect, that it was surreptitiously obtained: Publick Vouchers ought always to remain upon Record, nor ought there to be any publick Expence without a proper Voucher; therefore, the Case of the Publick is still stronger than that of any Infant. Thus the Hon. Gentlemen who made use of this Objection must see, of how little Avail it can be in the Case now before us, and consequently, I hope, we shall have their Concurrence in the Question.

The next Debate I shall give, was that which happened the 19th of February last; for as we imitate the Parliament as near as we can in all our Proceedings, the Order of that Day was for the Club to resolve itself into a Committee to consider further of the Supply granted to his Majesty, which Order being read, P. Furius Philus stood up, and spoke to the following Effect.

Mr. President,
I Never trouble you long, Sir, on any Occasion; I shall be very short upon this. I suppose, it is understood, if we go now into a Committee of Supply, it is in order to vote the Army; and I beg Leave to submit it to Gentlemen's Judgments, whether Matters are yet ripe for such a Vote. It was the Custom of our wise Ancestors first to redress Grievances, and then to grant Supplies; and if their Example had been followed in succeeding Parliaments, we should not have heard of the Complaints that are now before

us from our Merchants: Let us, therefore, now revive the long depreffed Spirit of true Englishmen, and not be blindly led to make Grants before we make Inquiries.

The Hon. Gentleman who moved you Yesterday to go into a Committee of Supply *, was pleased to say, The Business of the Nation had been long postponed. I beg leave to ask that Hon. Gentleman, does he think the great Business of the Nation is to grant Supplies only? Surely, Sir, I hope we are met here for other Purposes too: The granting Supplies, tho' necessary, is always laying a Burden on the Nation: The redressing Grievances is always laudatory and pleasing. Shall we grant Men and Money, at a Time Complaints are made of Misapplications of Men and Money, without first inquiring into the Grounds of those Complaints? Shall we precipitately grant Supplies, without first considering our Ability to grant them, how they are to be applied, and D who is to apply them?

The King calls to us for Advice, the Ministry call to us for Men and Money: Who are we first to answer? Why does the King call to us for Advice? That we may consider the State of Affairs, and know what E Men, and what Money to grant. Shall we then implicitly grant Men and Money, without first considering, what Men and what Money it will be proper and necessary to grant? Is this Parliamentary? Can we judge of that Necessity, till we consider the State of the Nation, and the Situation we are in with regard to foreign Affairs? Surely no. I am as much for granting the necessary Supplies of the Government as any Gentleman in this House; but I cannot answer it to my Constituents to vote for them, till I am thoroughly satisfied of the Necessity of them, and that they will be bet-

ter applied than the 5,267,000 £. granted last Year.

I hope, therefore, Sir, we shall defer the Supply till we have been in a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the State of the Nation, which was a Measure proposed by an Hon. Gentleman over-against me, very early in the Session*, and will, I hope, be pushed.

This was answered by L. Valerius Flaccus, in a Speech to this Effect.

Mr. President,
SIR,

WE have heard so often, and upon so many Occasions, of the Custom of our Ancestors, that I must begin with wishing, we would in this Age observe the Custom of our Ancestors, in all our Proceedings in this House. They never opposed a just and wise Government in any of its Measures, nor did they ever talk of redressing Grievances, but when some such D really existed. When this happened to be the Case, they did not leave People in the Dark, or the Government to guess what they meant: They explained particularly every Grievance, they thought the People laboured under, and they proposed what they thought the most proper and speedy Remedies. Under a wise Government, this could never interfere with the granting of the necessary Supplies, because such a Government will certainly, if they can, redress every Grievance, as soon as they are properly informed of it; and if they cannot without a new Law, they will as certainly concur in the passing of a proper Law for that Purpose. The Redress of Grievances therefore never could, nor ever was with our Ancestors a Cause for postponing the necessary Supplies, but under an unjust or un-

wise Government, that would neither redress nor concur in redressing those Grievances, which were particularly explained, and declared to be such by a Majority of the Representatives of the People. Nay, our A Ancestors were upon this Head so moderate, that after they had particularly set forth the Grievances of the People, and had remonstrated against them in the strongest Terms, they seldom or never, in the same Session, refused granting the Supplies B necessary upon that Occasion: After they had done their Duty in laying before the Government the Grievances of the People, they trusted to the Government for redressing them, at least till next Session; and then, indeed, if they found the Government C had made no Step towards that End, they had good Reason in the next Session to insist upon an immediate Redress of those Grievances they had before complained of, previous to their granting any Supplies.

This, Sir, was the Custom of our Ancestors, the uniform Custom of our Ancestors, I believe, from the first Original of our Constitution, quite down to the Revolution. From that Time, indeed, we have had, and now in particular we have a Party amongst us, who talk every E Session of Grievances, and of redressing Grievances before granting Supplies, without ever so much as once explaining to us any one Grievance they desire to be redressed. For my Part, I do not know of any one Grievance the People are now F exposed to; for I am sure, no honest and loyal Subject will ever look upon those Taxes as a Grievance, which are necessary for the Security of our Government, or for paying off the Interest and Principal of those Debts which were contracted G for defending us against Popery and arbitrary Power. Those Taxes, indeed, afford a Handle which the Disaffected have always endeavoured

to make use of, for rendering the People discontented. They dare not avow, that the only Grievance they feel, is the Continuance of our present happy Establishment; but they exclaim against those publick Burdens which have been made necessary by their Designs to subvert our Constitution, and to which most of them owe the Religion they profess, and all of them the Security they now enjoy, as to their Lives, their Liberties, and their Properties.

I am far from supposing, Sir, that any Gentleman in this House, is to be ranked among this Sort of People: The Oaths we have taken make such a Supposition impossible, or at least very uncharitable; but I am afraid, many Gentlemen, both within Doors and without, thro' not attending to the Dangers our Government has frequently, and from Time to Time, been exposed to, have allowed themselves to be misled by the specious Arguments, cunningly insinuated by this Sort of People. They represent all the Dangers our Government has been lately exposed to as imaginary: They, indeed, have Reason to do so; because those Dangers have been all owing to their Machinations, either abroad or at home; and from this false Gloss they put upon those Dangers, they conclude, that our Ministers have suggested them with no other View, than to put the Publick to an extraordinary Expence, that they might have an Opportunity to enrich themselves out of the Spoils of the People. This is specious, but not true; yet false as it is, it has, I fear, imposed upon many well-meaning Men without Doors, and not a few within. The same Sort of People represent the Power of the Crown as excessive, and by much too great to be consistent with the Liberties of a free People; tho', in reality, it is no greater than is absolutely necessary for preserving us

against the rebellious or seditious Practices of those, who, should they succeed in their Designs, would neither leave the Face of Liberty, nor the Face of true Religion amongst us. This, I know, has likewise imposed upon many well-meaning Gentlemen, and has made them look upon some Parts of our present Constitution as Grievances, which are absolutely necessary for preserving us against the greatest of all Grievances, and that which would be the Source of every other Grievance a free People can apprehend, I mean, the Overthrow of our present happy Establishment.

I hope, Gentlemen will consider of these Things, when they hear Grievances thus generally talk'd of in this House, before they resolve to postpone Supplies till we have redress'd Grievances which nobody knows of. I know of nothing that has as yet been declared a Grievance by a Majority of this House. Surely, before we can redress any Grievance, we must know what it is we are to redress, we must resolve that it is a Grievance which ought to be redressed. But our present Grievances, it seems, are of a very extraordinary Nature: They are such as cannot be dicovered or explained, till we have resolved ourselves into a Committee of the whole House to consider of the State of the Nation. This, Sir, is really something like a Lady in the Vapours: She is in a very bad State of Health: She fancies herself oppressed with several Distempers; but she cannot tell what they are, till she has had a Consultation of Physicians, to find them out, and explain them. The Consequence generally is, that these Physicians, in order to make themselves her necessary and expensive Attendants, suggest to her Fancy Diseases she never felt, and make her swallow Pills and Bolus's till they throw her into a real Distemper.

I wish, Sir, this may not be our Case : I wish this may not be the Consequence of our resolving ourselves into such a Committee ; however, I shall not determine myself to be against it, till I hear what Reasons may be offered for our going into that Committee ; but since it has been so long delayed, I am surprised to hear Gentlemen pretend, that our not having been in such a Committee is a Reason for our postponing the Supplies ; especially now that it is so late in the Year as well as in the Session. If they think our going into such a Committee necessary, why did not they move it sooner ? Could they expect that such a Motion would be made by those who do not think any such Motion necessary ? From such a Behaviour one would really suspect, that they delayed making this Motion, of purpose to have a Pretence for postponing the Supplies. I hope this is not the Case ; I am persuaded it is not. They could not hope for Success in any such Project ; for, in my Opinion, no Man who considers the Danger Europe as well as this Nation is in at present, will upon any Consideration postpone the granting of those Supplies, which are necessary, not only for the Support of our Government, but for enabling his Majesty to take speedy and effectual Measures for preserving a Balance of Power in Europe.

When I reflect, Sir, upon the dangerous, I may say desperate Situation, the Balance of Power is now in, and the consequential Danger this Nation must of course be in. When I reflect upon the precarious Situation our Trade and Navigation both in the Mediterranean and American Seas, nay, I may say in every Part of the World, must be reduced to, unless we can force Spain to give up that unjust Pretence of searching and seizing our Ships, even in Time of Peace, on Account of contraband

Goods : When I reflect upon the wise Measures his Majesty has already taken, or is now pursuing, for redeeming Europe, as well as this Nation, from such a dangerous Situation : I say, when I reflect upon these Things, I cannot but be astonished, that any Gentleman should propose the postponing of the necessary Supplies, till we have redressed Grievances, which are so little felt that they have not as yet been discovered, or at least have not as yet been declared to be such by any Resolution of either House of Parliament.

Let us consider, Sir, the formidable Confederacy against the House of Austria, and the present forlorn Condition of that House. The Queen of Hungary has shewn a most surprising Spirit in her Distress : Her Subjects have done Wonders in her and their own Defence ; but the Confederacy is so powerful, that she cannot resist it another Campaign ; nor can we by ourselves alone give her such Assistance as will be effectual. Some of the Princes in the Confederacy must be drawn off, and a new Confederacy formed for her Support. Neither of these can be done without Money, nor can it be done at all, if it is not speedily done. Now, Sir, suppose France should succeed in all her ambitious Projects both in Germany and Italy : Suppose she should establish her Vice Emperor upon the Imperial Throne, reduce the Queen of Hungary to her Terms, and establish her Son-in-Law, Don Philip of Spain, in a new-erected Kingdom in Italy, what are we than to expect, Sir ? Can we expect a happy Issue of our War with Spain ? Must we not submit to any Terms France shall please to prescribe ? If we do not, she will, by her Orders, or her Influence, bring all Europe upon our Backs ; and after the bravest, the most obstinate Defence we can make, we must at last submit to an inevitable yoke.

what Terms our Enemies shall please to propose. The Freedom of our Trade and Navigation would certainly be the first Sacrifice to this fatal Event; and our Independency, our Religion, our Liberties and Properties would as certainly be the last; for as to our Lives, it would then be the Interest of France, tho' not our own, to preserve them, as much as it is the Interest of a Master to preserve the Lives of his Slaves. These are Events which I think of with Horror, and therefore I cannot agree to postpone any Thing that may prevent them. I hope the House will be of my Opinion, and, consequently, refuse to postpone any longer granting the necessary Supplies, for the sake of redressing Grievances, which are neither felt by the People, declared by this House, nor explained or particularly set forth by those that talk of them.

[This JOURNAL to be continued in our next.]

ABSTRACT of a Pamphlet, intitled, The Case of the Hanover Forces in the Pay of Great Britain, &c.

HIS late Majesty had no sooner taken Possession of the Throne, than he entertained Thoughts of aggrandizing his Electoral Dominions: In pursuance of this favourite Project, *Bremen* and *Verden* were almost instantly purchased of the King of *Denmark* (who had taken them from *Sweden* during the Absence of its King) and *Great Britain* found herself at once engaged to guaranty the Possession of *Sleswick* to his *Danish* Majesty (which he had also taken from the Duke of *Holstein*) and saddled with a Vote of Credit for 250,000*l.* to secure us against the Resentments of the King of *Sweden*, who, of an old Ally, became a most exasperated Enemy.

A Rupture between the two Kingdoms immediately followed; the King, as Elector of *Hanover*, having first declared War, in Virtue of his late Alliance with *Denmark*, and a *British* Fleet being next dispatched up the *Baltick*, to compel *Sweden* to connive at the Wrong which had been done her; or accept of a large Sum of Sterling Money by Way of Recompence. In this Distress the *Swedes* thought the last the most eligible Expedient, and for the present, put up a Quarrel they were not in a proper Condition to prosecute to Advantage.

But the Drudgery imposed on the *British* Fleet did not end here: *Russia* had given Offence to *Hanover*, by interfering in the Affair of *Mecklenburg*, which, on Account of its Extent and Situation, would have made a noble Addition to his Majesty's Electoral Dominions; *Russia* therefore was to be humbled, and *Great Britain* was tasked to accomplish what was out of the Power of *Hanover*.

But during these Commotions in the North, it was found convenient to enter into a Treaty with the *Emperor*; a Treaty accordingly was agreed upon in 1716, by which his late Majesty and the *Emperor* engage mutually to defend and preserve each other in the Possession of whatever Kingdoms, Provinces and Rights (in the Condition they now are) they then actually held and enjoyed, or which, during the Continuance of that League, they should, by mutual Consent, acquire; which was to be understood as a sufficient Guarantee for whatever *Hanover* had, or should acquire in the North.

A Misunderstanding between his Imperial Majesty and *Spain* takes Place, and the last forms a Design to make himself Master of *Sicily*: Upon which, the *Emperor* calls upon us to fulfil our Engagements; this draws on the bold Stroke in the Mediterranean

diterranean in 1718, under the Conduct of Sir George Byng. In Consequence whereof, as Sweden before, Spain of a firm Friend becomes an implacable Enemy, and takes all Advantages of manifesting its Resentments; the sad Effects of which, we both feel and lament to this Day.

But tho' this cavalier Step had been taken in Favour of the Emperor, his Imperial Majesty was now, for certain Reasons, which will speedily be explained, to be made sensible of our Importance in making Peace as well as War; in order that Hanover might, for the future, rely the more securely upon his Friendship and Protection: Accordingly, as Great Britain had already been made the Bubble of the War, she was now to be made the Bubble of the Peace: As Spain had been provoked, so likewise Spain was to be appeased: Thus to bring back the Court of Vienna to a proper Sense of Things, and pacify the Heart-burnings of that of Madrid, Gibraltar was to be surrendered on one hand, and the eventual Succession of Don Carlos to Tuscany, Parma and Placentia, was to be provided for by the Quadruple-Alliance upon the other: Nor could this be done till even the late King himself, by a Letter under his own Hand, had signify'd, that it would not be his Fault if Gibraltar was not restored.

It must here be remembered, that the Year before this was rendered memorable by the Multiplicity of Treaties and Partitions then agitating, or concluded in the North; during which, it appeared that the Emperor was not altogether so implicitly the humble Servant of the Court of Hanover, as had been expected from him, in Virtue of the Treaty of 1716, and the Services done him by Great Britain since: In particular, he was far from join-

ing in the Project of humbling Russia, as more clearly appears, by the Words of a certain great Writer for the late Administration, who, when his Imperial Majesty was to be vili-fied, is pleased, however injudiciously, to express himself as follows; "Had the ancient Proverb of German Faith been infallible, a certain great Prince had granted an Investiture which he once solemnly promised, on a very valuable Consideration; nor would he have expected B a Million Sterling for a refreshing Fee."

From the Moment therefore that the Emperor ceased to co-operate in the great Work of aggrandizing Hanover, it was both discovered, that the over-grown Power of the House C of Austria became dangerous to the Liberties of Europe, and resolved to reduce it again within a proper Bound: But as this was not to be effected only by the secret Treaty of Madrid, we, at the same Time, threw ourselves into the Arms of D France and Acted by the Directions of her Ministers without Reserve; which will serve to account for the Part we took in the Quarrel between the French and Spanish Courts; the refusing the sole Mediation between Spain and the Emperor; E and the involving ourselves in the Hanover Alliance: From all which Circumstances, we are taught, that the Interest of Great Britain was never once thought of all this Time, unless to be sacrificed.

The very Basis of that pernicious Alliance was grounded on Absurdities and Impracticabilities, to say no worse: That we were not drawn by it into a War with the Emperor, is not to be imputed to those who advised it, and that a War with Spain was the Consequence of it, cannot be denied; at least a half War; a War on one Side, if not on the other: This half War again generated a half Peace; the which if Hanover

Hanover was not a Gainer by, the Emperor in the End became, very sufficiently a Loser : The equitable Designs on *Mecklenburgh*, &c. were not yet relished at *Vienna*, tho' so mighty a Confederacy was formed to persuade him to it; and therefore his Imperial Majesty was still too great and formidable. To be Friends with *Spain* was then our Interest upon any Terms; we not only treat, but humour, concede, nay, solicit the Honour of being Convoys to *Don Carlos* into *Italy*; that very *Don Carlos*, who was so lately set forth, as likely to become the so long dreaded universal Monarch of Europe.—Now to what did all this contribute? Not to the Peace, Security, Wealth, or Honour of *England*: No; but to the Reduction of the still too potent House of *Austria*: For, tho' that House was already involved in almost insuperable Difficulties; tho' that of *Bourbon* flourished in exact Proportion as the other declined; nay, tho' we had incontestable Evidence that *Dunkirk* was even then repairing, yet our Ministers persisted notwithstanding, and the whole Strength of the British Empire was to be steer'd by the *Hanover* Rudder.

But all would not do: The People of *England* could not be induced to submit to new Taxes and Impositions, in order to destroy that Balance of Power, which, at such an incredible Expence of Blood and Treasure, they had endeavoured to render immoveable, nor the House of *Austria* to be undone, that the petty Princes of Germany might aggrandize themselves out of their Spoils.

Finding, therefore, the Ground to sink beneath their Toil, our wise Ministers were forced to their old Track of Negotiations, even with the very Power they had so heartily endeavoured to ruin; accordingly, we guaranty the *Pragmatick Sanction* hand over head, as the most popular

Step which could then be taken in Favovr of the Balance of Europe, already almost ruined beyond Redemption: But even in this Affair, *Hanover* acts upon a separate Bottom, provides for her own Satisfaction, A with all imaginable Secrecy and Address, and then accedes to a Treaty, which was irreconcileable with all her former Pursuits, and which actually clash'd with her apparent Interest, if that Interest consisted, as was more than suspected, in delivering *Germany* from that very Power, it now stipulated to preserve.—But what has since been transacted by *Prussia* and *Saxony*, has furnished us with a Solution of this political Problem: Nor can it be supposed that the Forces and Treasures of C *Great Britain* were to be doled away without a valuable Consideration.

This new Treaty, which thus dissolved the never-to-be-forgotten *Hanover* Treaty, was entered into contrary to an express Article of the last, which obliged each of the contracting Parties not to enter into any new Engagements with any other Power, without a Communication first made to the rest of the Confederacy: This Peace France at once resented, and despised; but, to take a pleasant Revenge, only changed a few Garrisons on their Frontiers, which threw our gallant Ministers into such a Panic as if the Beacons were on Fire all round our Coasts, and the Pretender already on his March to London.

This new Negotiation was as much a Secret at the *Hague* as *Versailles*; for when it was communicated to the States, they were at the same Time informed, that *Hanover* was already satisfied: But tho' *Great Britain* followed the Example, or perhaps obeyed the Prescription of *Hanover*, *Holland* did not appear in Haste to do the same: and tho' the Accession of the States was at last obtained, it was not without Difficulties

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culties and Limitations; tho' we were obliged to swallow the Dose without gilding, or any Palliative whatever.

Thus we see the Emperor, England, and Holland once more in Articles with Hanover for the Head of the Confederacy. But whether the first was before hand sufficiently humbled, or whether the last was sufficiently compensated is not as yet to be decided. This however is most certain, that Great Britain is still sick at Heart for having thrown her Weight into the wrong Scale, and being at the sole Expence of these ungrateful Experiments.

While Hanover was most intent upon her favourite Project of humiliating the House of Austria, she had cast her Eye on the declining Condition of King Augustus, and, apprehending a new Election must speedily come on, entered into Measures with France, for advancing Stanislaus once more to the Throne of Poland; it being a Point in which the Interests of the two Courts were in a Manner the same: A Prince in the Interest either of the House of Austria, or of Russia, giving equal Umbrage to both. If Hanover, in particular, had not met with the Returns she expected from Vienna, in the Affair of Mecklenburgh, &c. she had as little Reason to be satisfy'd with Russia, who was strongly inclined to recover Sleswick for the Duke of Holstein, on the Security of which to the King of Denmark, depended the Continuance of Bremen and Verden to the Electorate of Hanover: Russia had, besides, busied herself in thwarting the Designs of that Court upon Mecklenburgh: As therefore France stood engaged, from all Considerations, to support King Stanislaus; Hanover made her Overtures, on that Head, with the more Frankness, and had the Pleasure of finding them received according to her own Wishes.

Thus supported by France on one hand, and Hanover on the other, Stanislaus was elected King of Poland, whereby the Influence of the first (tho' already so much dreaded) was like to receive a very considerable Accession in the North, and the last was gratified in her darling Point of mortifying and humbling the Court of Vienna; tho' for these very Reasons, it is apparent that scarce any Event upon the Continent could be more diametrically opposite to the Interest of these Kingdoms in particular, or the Balance of Europe in general!

The War, in which the Emperor was involved on this Occasion, called loudly upon England, Holland and Hanover, for the Performance of the Guarantee they had so lately engaged in: And our eagle-eyed Ministers did not fail to make a proper Use of it; that is to say, they made it a Pretence to rise higher than ever in their Demands upon the People; and Denmark, as usual, lent her Name for Subsidies, which Hanover was not the worse for. Should it be asked, what Part that wise Electorate took on this Occasion? Why, it looked on the Fray with its Hands in its Pockets; esteeming Treaties but Parchment, and ready Money too scarce a Commodity to be parted with in any Cause, or for any Engagement whatever.

In Holland, however, that the Farce, which was playing at home, might be carried on with some Decency, our Resident there had Orders to be as loud and importunate as possible with the States, to enter with us into instant Measures for the Preservation of the House of Austria, and setting a Bound to the growing Power of France: And this our Ministers thought they might do very securely; since, the States being in the Secret of our inveterate Antipathy to the Emperor, it was not reasonable

sonable to suppose they would launch into Expences, which they knew before-hand would, for that very Reason, be rendered vain and fruitless. But in this one Particular our true and trusty Friends refined too much. The States, with some Reason, believed, that when it appeared, the House of Austria was in real Danger, even the darling Interest of the Electorate would be forced to recede a little to those of the Kingdom; and that even the People of England would have so much Influence as to carry one Point in favour of that Family, on which the general Balance of Power principally depended: Upon the repeated, urgent and almost daily Applications of our said Resident, they at last, therefore, gave him to understand, that they were willing to meet his Offers half-way: When lo! — it appeared — he had no Power to treat.

Thus, in Consequence of this blessed Polish Election, England was more and more taxed and exhausted and the Emperor remained unassisted notwithstanding; insomuch that he was compelled to throw himself into the very Bosom of his capital Enemy, upon any Terms he could get. And tho' by the Intervention of Russia, Poland was once more snatch'd from King Stanislaus, the House of Bourbon made a shift to procure a noble Equivalent in the Duchy of Lorraine; not to mention the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, acquired by the joint Efforts of France and Spain, and bestowed upon Don Carlos.

But if the Balance of Europe was thus disjointed, that of Germany was now sufficiently provided for. There was no Room to set forth any longer, in such terrifying Colours, the overgrown Power of the House of Austria. — Alas! it was now in Ruins; and what his Most Christian Majesty had condescended to leave standing as a Monument of his Mercy, the

Grand Signior threatened to destroy; the War in Hungary with the Turks taking Place, before the Wounds left by those in Germany and Italy were closed; and the Issue proving as fatal to the Imperialists as either of those which preceded it.

In this melancholy Interval the Emperor dies, leaving nothing but the Pragmatick Sanction for the Security of his Heirs; which proved of so little Signification, notwithstanding the great Names with which it was filled, that almost every one of the Electors, like most other Electors, thought it a proper Opportunity to make the most of his Vote; and all at the Expence of the helpless, abandoned House of Austria. A weak, pitiful, dependent Emperor, every one could find his Account in; whoever then they preferred, they resolved to strip first as bare as possible.

But in the Midst of these royal Dreams of Dominion, Havock, Spoil and Plunder, the King of Prussia starts first into Action, pleads a Right, but takes Possession by Force, and avows a Resolution to hold it by the same Means; which unexpected Incident gave a new Aspect to the Face of Germany.

In the mean while, the Death of the Emperor, and the deplorable Situation of his Family, affected every English Heart as it ought; tho' at the same Time, they were forced to acknowledge the superior Ability of that great Minister, who had so soon reduced that aspiring House from being the Terror to the Pity of the World. In Hope, however, that he would testify the same Ability in raising up, as in pulling down, they very willingly agreed to all his Demands of Aids, Loans, and what not: Flattering themselves that he would now, at least, apply them as he ought for the Service of Great Britain, not, as before, — hath been sufficiently explained:

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Nor indeed were they wholly deceived: For the immediate Interest of Hanover had taken a new Turn from this bold Stroke of the King of Prussia.

The Pretensions of Prussia were limited to certain Duchies and Lordships in Silesia, and, as the Event has proved, that he would have been satisfied with much less than he claimed, it cannot be enough wondered at, that Ways and Means had not been used to bring him to Terms by Treaty and Negotiation, before the Dispute was left to be decided by the Sword: But instead of Experiments to soften him, which might gain so potent an Ally to assist in the Preservation of the House of Austria, and Increase of Power to the Protestant Interest, the Spirit of War alone prevailed against him, and the Court of Vienna was continually pressed to Action, and called upon for Plans of Operations against him; nay, so little was any Thought or Desire entertained of gaining him in a friendly Manner, and so little was apprehended from France at that Time, that certain Persons, for a while, enjoyed a Scheme for the Partition of his Dominions, and a Convention was actually formed for that Purpose; by which very Convention it appears, that the Queen of Hungary was the only contracting Power that disclaimed any Share in the Spoils. Now the Gains as well as the Desires of such a Partition, point out too plainly from whence it took its Rise: But if any Doubt remains, let any one consider the Answer given by the Court of Vienna, May 13, 1741, N. S. to a Memorial of Mr. Robinson's of April 17, which is a downright Remonstrance against our advising an Accommodation, when it was too late — a Denial of having ever concurred or consented to any Convention for the Partition of Prussia; tho' acquainted with, and apprised of it, she went no farther than to

comply with the Desires of others, as she has Materials to prove — And that the Convention sent from Vienna was formed in Conformity to the Representations of the Count de Ostein (who was the Queen's Minister at London.) Good God! what a Reproach is this to the martial Spirit which at first was frothed forth from this Side of the Water! What a plain tho' polite Declaration doth it contain of the Point to whose Account this new Partition-Treaty ought to be placed! Nor is this Remonstrance the only Authorities of this Fact, for many other Particulars of the like Nature occur in the Papers laid before the Parliament last Year.

Amidst these bewitching Plans of military Operations and imaginary Divisions of the Prussian Bear-Skin, France, not once, as yet, thought of, steps between; and our late golden Projects evaporate to Air; from which unlucky Period, more Caution and less Presumption has appeared in those Councils, which then undertook to canton out Germany at Will.

In particular, Hanover, that lately was so forward to have supported the Pragmatick Sanction, not only with the 4000 Men it was engaged to do, but with its whole Force, as likewise the Danes and Hessians, taken into the Pay of England, against Prussia, was now not able to give the Queen of Hungary any Assistance, nay, not to preserve itself without the Help of a Brace of Expedients, in which, not a Spark of that Spirit, which blazed out so fiercely before, is visible; viz. A Neutrality with France, which had so extensive an Operation as to give Safety to our Merchant-Ships, or even a Man of War sailing thro' the Spanish Fleet, to say nothing of the said Fleet's sailing thro' the Straits in Sight of Admiral Haddock, who had waited whole Years to intercept them. Secondly, To resign not only all Hopes of aggran-

aggrandizing itself at the Expense of Prussia, but to empty its sacred Coffers, for the Satisfaction of some pecuniary Demands of a very extraordinary Nature, which makes it a very desirable Thing at present to take the first favourable Opportunity A to replenish them.

Under this Neutrality the Parliament met last Year; the whole Nation having already learned the Cause of that Treaty by the Effects; having likewise by the same Clue traced out the mysterious Origin of the Hanover Treaty, to which they made no Scruple to ascribe the Reduction of the exorbitant Power of the House of Austria; and almost to a Man convinc'd, that Hanover robbed us of the Benefit of being an Island, and was actually a Pledge for our good Behaviour on the Continent.

The Change that, soon after, happened in our Administration, naturally excited a Belief that our Measures would be changed likewise. The Nation expected a thorough Inquiry into the Conduct of D those who had destroyed the Balance of Power in Europe, who had exhausted and impoverished this Nation; and all for the sake of the Support and private Interest of a resolute Minister, who had given into every desperate Measure exacted from him on one hand, that he might be able to command an Indemnity on the other.

But an Inquiry may take Place, and yet Justice be too lame to follow; and the Clamour arising from the Disappointment is to be stifled by the F Noise of Arms and War; under the Pretence of recovering the Balance of Europe, which we had our selves given away; and to re-establish the House of Austria, which we had been first and principally instrumental to pull down.

In what is passed, no body can dispute but our Folly is sufficiently visible; and in what now is, our

Madness is as visible: Since the Grand Alliance could scarce accomplish, what England now ventures upon alone; or if all is still but Matter of Amusement, what England alone must pay for.

With the Reduction of the House of Austria, the late Minister's favourite Scheme of foreign Politicks was worn out: His Successors, therefore, were under a Necessity to form a new, out of which, they might find Means to render themselves of equal Importance to the Throne, and derive equal Advantages from the People.

If, therefore, the first demolished the House of Austria, it is their Business to restore it to its ancient Splendor; and as he found his Account by frequent and large Remittances to Denmark, Sweden, Hesse and Wolfenbuttle, by the Way of Hanover, they hold it more adviseable to trade with Hanover direct; and, therefore, make no Bones of taking 16,000 Hanoverians into British Pay at once.

The original Views of Hanover, I mean since its Connexion with England, and the Necessity it lay under of engaging in a Neutrality, when Maillebois was within Reach of its Frontiers, have been already explained; but it has not been mentioned, that, during the Time that all the Forces of Hanover, together with the Hessians and Danes in British Pay, were in Readiness to support and preserve the Balance of Power in the House of Austria, the Elector of Hanover first engaged his Vote, and afterwards gave it for the Elector of Bavaria's being Emperor, who was chosen under these Circumstances; as claiming the greatest Part of the late Emperor's hereditary Dominions, and being in G actual Possession of a great Part of Austria, and of Bohemia: To which may be added, that he was no sooner mounted into the Imperial Throne,

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Throne, but all the Laws and Constitution of the Empire concurred in supporting and carrying on his Pretensions to the Residue of the *Austrian* Dominions in the strongest Manner imaginable: For the Evidence of which, we need only appeal to the Supplies he received from all Parts, and to that Vote, in particular, of the Electoral College, for granting him an Aid of as many *Roman Months*, as is usual when the Cause is common, and the whole Empire invaded. Let us be allowed to ask, therefore, whether the Elector of *Hanover* once protested against that Vote? Whether he refused to comply with it? Whether by any new Law that Electorate was absolved from the Obligations of the Empire, and left at Liberty to act against the Emperor, it so lately contributed to fix in the Imperial Throne? Whether the said Electorate hath since assisted the Queen of *Hungary* with the 4000 Men, the latter had a Right to claim by Treaty, tho' before it seemed determined to engage in her Quarrel with far greater Forces? Whether the *Hessian* Mercenaries were not continued in our Pay this Year, after it was avowed in Parliament that they could not act against the Emperor? And whether this was not desired only that they might not be hired by *France* against the Queen of *Hungary*? For if it can be still thought that these *Hanoverian* and *Hessian* Troops dared to have acted in *Germany*, why did they not follow *Maillebois*, who was so nigh a Neighbour to them, and endeavour to distress and retard his March? Or, if the Neutrality of *Hanover* would not permit that, why did they not march into *Bohemia* to support the Queen of *Hungary*, in the Capacity of Allies to her, as the French supported the Emperor?

Now, if in Bar of all farther Queries, it should be urged, that as

well the Neutrality with *France*, as the Laws of the Empire, put a Stop to all Proceedings that Way, we have no more to say, but that, what with the Laws of the Empire, and what with the *Hanover* Neutrality, 16,000 *Hanoverians* could march no where but into *Flanders* for a Pretence to receive so vast a Sum of Money from this Nation: And in this Point of Light we must see and consider every Step and Action in our foreign Affairs for this last Year; and without this Clue we may and shall be bewildered in tracing the many, otherwise contradictory Pretences and Actions, that will be urged for justifying this Measure.

When the two great Points come C to be canvassed, viz. why we in the present terrible Situation of our Affairs, plunged ourselves alone into so vast an Undertaking (viz. to restore the House of *Austria*;) and whether we could have acted more to the Prejudice of our own Country, than D by influencing the Queen of *Hungary*, no Matter by what Means, to reject the Offers of *France*: I say, when these two capital Points come to be canvassed, all imaginable Arts will be used to put us on a different Scent; in particular we shall be E called upon to take Notice of the Wonders performed by the Troops of *Hanover*, and amused with Stories of a great Army's being particularly necessary to be assembled in *Flanders*, at the Requisition of the King of *Sardinia*, at the Requisition of the F Queen of *Hungary*; and that such was her distressed Case, that no other Troops could be gotten for Love or Money but *Hanoverians*; that the Noise of these mighty Preparations drew off the *French* Forces from *Dauphiny*; that they prevented more Forces being sent into *Germany*; and that it was shewing a seasonable Spirit and Vigour in Defence of our Allies; but, observe, not

not a Word will be said of the Dutch, tho' the Foundation upon which alone the British Troops were sent abroad; nor a Word of those other Powers who are engaged by Treaty and bound by Interest to support the Queen of Hungary as well as we.

But to bestow a few Words upon what is uttered in Defence of this memorable and mighty Transaction. Did the King of Sardinia, from his own mere Motion, desire this Diversion in Flanders, rather than any where else? Were not the Troops in Dauphiny removed from thence long before the Appearance of this war-like Parade there? Whither did those very Troops march? Had the Hanoverians and others marched directly to Mentz, could it have been less a Diversion for the French Forces? Does it not appear visibly to have been the Interest of the Queen of Hungary, that they should have marched thither at first? And, if it is so much insisted upon now, even so late in the Year, would it not then have been a greater Assistance to her, and a Distress to the French? Was it not solicited and desired they should march thither before? Or, at least, was it not very well known here as the Sense of that Court that they wished it? If, therefore, these Wishes of theirs could not be obtained, is it at all surprizing that they should have so much Complaisance as to desire our Court to send them to that Place only where they found they had any Inclination to send them? Were the Dutch consulted in this? Was it by their Advice and Approbation? Why don't they say a Word about them in this Affair? Did not his Majesty, in his Speech, last Session, tell the Parliament, "That the present favourable Disposition of the States-General and of other great Powers is, under God, chiefly owing to the generous Assistance afforded by this Nation to

its ancient and natural Allies?" May we not ask, therefore, what are become of all those Allies now? That the March of 16,000 Hanoverians into Flanders, so late as October, to open a Campaign, should prove so powerful a Diversion to the French Forces in all Parts at once, may be uttered gravely out of the Mouth of a Statesman, but it will be treated with Ridicule by all the rest of the World.

When the vigorous Resolution was taken for sending over 16,000 Men into Flanders, a more considerable Embassy than usual of late Years, was sent to Holland, and it was not long before we were sensible of the Disposition of the States, by the Memorials that were presented, which appear to be rather addressed to the Opinion of the Dutch People, than what was thought to be consistent with that of the States, who soon shewed us what was to be expected from them; and tho' there appeared no Hopes of drawing them into the Views of the Court of Great Britain in respect of Flanders; yet the British Ministers, even the last, were very assiduous and importunate to obtain their High Mightinesses Guaranty for the Electorate of Hanover.

Nor must we forget those romantiick Schemes about the same Time given out of inclosing Maillebois between the Hanoverian Forces, and the 16,000 English that were to be sent over from hence, and their designed March at first towards that Electorate; neither must it be forgotten, that, upon certain Rumours being spread abroad that the Neutrality of Hanover ceased, the French Minister declared, by Order of his Master, in a Memorial to the States General, that it still subsisted, and that his Master had fresh Proofs of it in his Hands; and it is certain, the Hanoverians did not march after Maillebois.

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The late Orders said to be sent for the March both of the *British* and *Hanover* Troops to *Mentz*, are urged to palliate the Inactivity and Uselessness of them last Year, and to be a Pretence for paying them this : But let us not forget, while we are considering this extraordinary Step, the mighty and warlike Preparations of last Summer, and how long the Nation was made to believe that his Majesty would, even so late in *October*, put himself at the Head of his united Forces : These Appearances portended Actions that seemed then to justify the taking of 16,000 *Hanoverians* into our Pay, because our own Forces were too small for a royal Command without them ; and that his Majesty might appear equally the Sovereign of both People, and that they might equally share in the Glory of such a Command, it was thought as absolutely necessary to have 16,000 *Hanoverians* as 16,000 *English*.

But, unluckily, it is impossible ever to think of the Orders for this extraordinary March, without its eternally occurring to one's Thoughts, why they did not (if designed for any real Use) march thither at first ; since the Assistance by it, to the Queen of *Hungary*, must have been greater, and of course, the Diversion to *France* likewise. The undertaking of it now, therefore, is extremely surprizing, when the Difficulty of performing it is considered, as well as the Utility to arise from it.

As to the latter, the Question will be, against whom, and when they can act ? It must be against the *Emperor*, the *Empire*, or *France* : And can the *Hessians*, who were taken into our Pay last Year, when it was known and avowed that they could not serve against the *Emperor*, and who were retained to prevent their going into the Part of *France*; can these *Hessians*, I say, act against the *Emperor* now, or against the *Hessians*,

their Fellow-Subjects in the Imperial Service ? Can the *Hanoverians* act without Breach of the Imperial Laws, or of the *Neutrality* with *France* ? No certainly ; for tho', upon Assurance of Success, it might possibly be ventured, yet while it remains a Doubt, the Consequence of the Ban of the Empire and the Resentment of *France*, (which may be hereafter felt, even in *Hanover* itself) will and must be well considered before Hostilities are committed, or the Blow struck.

Lured by an insatiable Thirst of Gain, in whatever Shape, in Love with military Spectacles, and to make a Soldier-like Figure in the Field, *Hanover* may proceed as far as a March, or a Counter-March— C more would be too much — And one Breach of the present Neutrality might render a Neutrality impossible for the Time to come.

In Defect, therefore, of real Services, imaginary ones must be pretended, (for it is become necessary D that *Great Britain* should be duped, that *Hanover* may be enriched) and of these, no other Power can pretend to the least Share of the Glory.

Whatever our Schemes were, *France* laughed, *Maillebois* marched to *Böhemia*, and the rest of *Europe* ridiculed E every Step we took, as well foreseeing, that this mighty Expence could not so much as purchase us a tingle Town. Upon the Whole, what are we to expect will be the Issue of these courtly Politicks ? *France* is neither exhausted, nor to be bullied

F into any Submissions, by all we have done or can do ; and the Interest of the Ministers and *Hanover* are, at present, rendered incompatible. It is the Interest of the Ministers that these Troops should do something abroad, to excuse them for so inflaming G the publick Charge at home : It is the Interest of *Hanover* and *Hesse* to do nothing to deserve that Pay, which may bring Ruin upon themselves.

s-lves. But if any other Interest should, for once, prevail, *Hanover* may be caught, and at last be a Sufferer at a Time it least expected it: But whatever is the Interest of our Ministers, as the Interest of *England* and *Hanover*, at present, perfectly coincide in this Point, barring the trifling pecuniary Considerations; 'tis the Duty of true *Englishmen*, as well as loyal Subjects, who sincerely wish well to the present royal Family, to be against the taking these 16,000 *Hanoverians* into our Pay.

I do not know any thing more impolitick, nay, more dangerous, than for a Suspicion to prevail, that we are governed by Tricks and Frauds to answer bad Purposes, instead of noble and generous Measures, worthy of a just King, and a great People.

With what Concern therefore must we look upon that Fountain of Truth, which told us, at the End of last Session, of the then favourable Disposition of the *States-General*, if it shall appear, that, long before, it was designed, and we are now actually to pay for 16,000 *Hanover* Troops? Or what Opinion must we hold of our present most excellent Ministers, when it is made manifest, that either they expected nothing from the Dutch at that time, or that the *Hanover* Troops were taken into our Pay for private Considerations only?

Some General Advice for the Advantage of the FAIR SEX.

To the AUTHOR of the LONDON F
MAGAZINE.

SIR,

WHEN I consider the Force of Custom, I see no Instance of it more to be lamented than that which prevails in the Education of the Female Sex. We seem not to express the least Degree of that Care and Concern, to direct them in the Acquisition of useful Knowledge, which our challeng'd Sup-

A priority of Capacity, and even our own Interest and Happiness demand from us. The Consequence of this is, that they generally regard only those Things which relate to the Improvement, Disposition, and captivating Influence of their external Charms. What a strange Infatuation! that so naturally refin'd a Part of our Species should be thought qualify'd for nothing else but to move in a Round of Impertinence and Folly: that they should believe B their Powers of Reason and Judgment were given them to search no farther than just into the Merits of a Head-dress; and that their Passions are not capable of being mov'd by noble and worthy Objects, but their whole Souls must be left entirely under the Dominion of little trifling Accidents, such as the well-placing of a Patch, or the Death of a Lap-dog.

If they would listen to one who has thought much on their true Interest and Happiness, and has it sincerely at Heart, I should advise them, from a just Sense of the Dignity and Importance of their real Character, to exert the excellent Faculties they are possess'd of, and as far as their Opportunities for Improvement and their Mother-Tongue enable them, not to fall in the least Degree short of the other Sex in the Knowledge of History, natural Philosophy, or any other Science that may enlarge and strengthen their Understandings. And that they may be enabled to see, and prevent, or rectify, those little Disorders and Defects of Mind which are in some Degree natural to us all, and evidently prevent a true Progress in our Researches, I would recommend to their frequent and careful Perusal, Mr. Locke's admirable *Essay on the Conduct of the Understanding*; which will teach them a true Use of Books, and a right Method of managing their own Thoughts.

Ad

ADVICE to the FAIR SEX.

As to their particular Studies, there is one that I can't avoid taking some Notice of, since it is incumbent upon them all, as they are rational Beings; I mean the Study of *Morality*; including, besides the Nature and Obligations of mere **A** Virtue, a Knowledge of the Deity, his Perfections and Providence; and of the Frame and Constitution of the human Mind, its Powers, Capacities, Passions, and the End of its Existence; a most ample Field for the Exercise and Improvement of **B** their Reason! A clear and exact Judgment in these Things, apply'd to, and influencing the Heart and Conduct, is the true State and Temper of our Souls, and the Basis of all solid Peace and Happiness. Let the Ladies then cultivate this moral **C** Disposition; and they will soon experience a thousand times more Satisfaction in attending to the kindly Offices of social Life, than in the highest Gratifications of external Sense; and they need not apprehend the least Danger of being ignorant in that vastly necessary Art of pleasing and captivating the Men; for Equanimity of Temper, and a regular, uniform and harmonious Disposition of the Passions, diffuse a Grace and Sweetness over the Countenance, infinitely surpassing all the study'd Airs of Coquetry, and the little Ornaments of Dress. Not that I would have them negligent in Point of Dress, provided Neatness and Simplicity be the Standard of it.

The Fair Sex, by the more nice and delicate Contexture of their Frame, seem peculiarly form'd for the Practice of Virtue. They have, generally speaking, more Sensibility than we, and consequently are capable of a greater Variety of tender Sentiments, which, when brought into Action, and accompany'd with that winning Grace that commonly attends them, must appear almost Angelick, and carry an irresistible

Force and Persuasion with them. By way of Help and Improvement to them in this important Science of Morality, I would recommend to them the Moral Writings of some of the Antients, such as *Cicero, Antoninus, Epictetus, Seneca*; enough of which they will find translated into their own Language: And among the Moderns; *Locke, Shaftesbury, Wolaston, Hucheson, Whichcote, Clarke, Tillotson, Butler, Hoadley, Foster, Sykes*; Authors of an uncommon Genius, who have done eminent Service to the Cause of Truth and Virtue in general; and to Christianity in particular, by removing from it all that Rubbish of Superstition and Enthusiasm, which Ignorance and Priestcraft had thrown upon it, and representing it in its own native and original Light, with the genuine Impression of Deity upon it, *Reason and Benevolence*.

Amusement is another Part of their Studies, that requires also some particular Notice. This may be reduc'd to Poetry and Novels. Poetry, in the real Life and Spirit of it, and where a Regard is had to Nature, Truth and Virtue, is undoubtedly one of the most refin'd Amusements of a reasonable Creature: To the natural Strength of fine, just and noble **D** Sentiments, there is superadded the soft yet forcible Persuasion of graceful and polish'd Numbers, and all the striking Beauties of high and delicate Painting. Our laudable Affections are enliven'd and cherish'd by it, particularly those of Publick-spiritedness, and active, enlarg'd Benevolence, which are display'd in the Character of the Heroe; a Subject that Poetry has a peculiar Claim to: And that implanted Sense, which we all in some degree experience, of Beauty, Order, and exact Arrangement, is gratify'd and greatly improv'd, by the fine Descriptions it affords us of the Works of Nature and Art. Authors of this Turn and Spirit,

fit, who make the moral Pleasure and Improvement of Mankind the chief End of displaying their Genius, strictly maintain the true poetic Character, which, in the Judgment of one of the ablest Proficients in it, entirely consists in a judicious and nice blending together Things rationally pleasing with those that are useful in the Conduct of human Life. After advising the Ladies to make such as these their more familiar Acquaintance, I shall refer them, for a further Improvement of their Taste and Judgment herein, to the following excellent Performances, Lord Roscommon's *Essay on translated Verse*, the same noble Author's Translation of Horace's *Art of Poetry*, Duke of Buckingham's *Essay on Poetry*, Mr. Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, and Lord Lansdowne's *unnatural Flights in Poetry*: Authors that have

turn'd the tuneful art,
From sounds to things, from fancy to the heart.

POPE.

Novels are either exceedingly useful or dangerous, according to the Nature of their Composition: For the Reader, under the Notion of Entertainment, comes open and unguarded to them; our good Humour disposes us to be affected; and Love and Pity, the tenderest of all the Passions, being the only ones that are generally addressed to in these Performances, the Impression strikes deeply, and has a lasting good or bad Influence upon the Mind and Temper, in Proportion as the Images are more or less pure and just. So obvious a Consideration as this is, should, I think, have deter'd these Writers from varying in the least Degree from Probability, human Nature, and moral Tendency, the Standard they ought to propose to themselves; but, so far from this, we find them, on the contrary, abound with the Marvellous and Incredible, which can yield no Benefit at all to the Mind, unless they will prove, that to be amaz'd and shock'd is beneficial; with false Conceptions and loose Images, that are fit for nothing but to pervert the Judgment and inflame the Passions: Vice is too often extenuated in them, nay, some Instances of it, particularly an unlawful Commerce between the Sexes, recommended and rewarded: Real Virtue is pass'd by unconfider'd, and a mere Phantom of the Imagination, that has no Foundation, no Rule, nor is in the least Degree adapted to common Practice, substituted in its Place. I hope the Ladies, the young ones especially, will shun them, as they wou'd a more dangerous and destructive Sort of Poison. A Man who has a good Heart, and perfectly understands human Nature; who knows how to touch the tender Passions, and to moderate our whole System to a proper Pitch of Harmony and moral Temper, is alone capable of this Species of Writing; and me-

thinks, the Consideration of the great Usefulness it may be of, should put every one who has a Turn this Way upon exerting his Abilities with all the Warmth and Benevolence, so important an End, as the Good of Mankind, requires. Mr. Marivaux has, in my Opinion, succeeded the best of any Author of the Kind: His *Life of Marianne* is an exact Copy of human Nature; the Sentiments and Reflexions of it, all which are noble and excellent, proceed directly from the Heart; every Foible that can be suppos'd to take Place in the Mind of a Woman who has Youth, Beauty, Wit and Merit, are clearly trac'd to the minute Springs and Causes of them, and properly ridicul'd and censur'd; and above all, the Honour of the Fair Sex, a nice and tender Point, is strictly preserv'd in the Character of his Heroine, in Spite of all Difficulties and artful Attacks. In short, the Whole is so subservient to Virtue, and such a just Delicacy and Refinement prevails in it, that it must furnish the Ladies both with a Lesson of extensive Usefulness, and a Subject of rational Entertainment. But I can't mention this excellent Performance without taking some Notice (for the Benefit of those who know nothing of the French Tongue) of the Translations that have been made of it. The first that was printed I own I read with much Pleasure, but it was intirely owing to what the Author of it could not avoid transfusing from the Original; otherwise it is jejune, flat and insipid, and ought to be deem'd a Piece of School-Boy's Drudgery, rather than a Translation. A Translator comprehends somewhat more than is generally imagined. If a Man can give the exact and literal Meaning of a foreign Language, 'tis thought sufficient; but this is comparatively the least Part of his Character: His first and most essential Requisite is a Turn and Genius not inferior to that of the Author he undertakes, and in Works of this Nature, a peculiar Correspondency of tender and delicate Sentiment. If he is posse'sd of this Qualification, his Knowledge of the Original will be sufficient, if it enables him clearly to comprehend his Author's Sense. But when we do pay a Regard to a Translator's Mastery in Language, the most important Point thereof is his own Stile and Manner; which indeed is a necessary Part; for a fine Reflexion may lose all its Force and Use for want of being justly express'd. The last (which was publish'd under the Title of *The Virtuous Orphan*) is indeed a Translation: The same Spirit, the same Delicacy, that is in the Original, prevails throughout; the whole Life and Soul of it is transus'd, and preserv'd and cherish'd in it by a fine and suitable Turn of Expression: In one Word, 'tis Mr. Marivaux's *Marianne* in an English Dress. But I must observe further,

further, that the Original breaks off at the most interesting Circumstance in the Life of Marianne, and also in that of Miss Terville, which is inserted in it. This must leave the Reader in a painful Uncertainty, as he can't possibly avoid entering deeply into two Events of such great Importance to those amiable Ladies. And I suppose it was from a benevolent Intention of removing this Perplexity, that the Author of the last Translation has given us a Completion of both Histories. Whether his Continuation is his own or not, no one but himself can say; but it has all the Marks of genuine upon it, and, I believe, the most discerning Person (provided he never read any Thing before relating to Marianne) wou'd be at a Loss to distinguish at what Point it begins, or any Thing near it, so well is the Spirit of the Original carried on. Whoever the Gentleman is, he seems peculiarly qualified for this Way of Writing, and capable of carrying it to a still higher Pitch of Usefulness, by recommending such Affections, and such a Conduct to Mankind, as are of everlasting Importance to them: I sincerely wish therefore, he wou'd favour the World with something of his own; the publick Good demands it of him; for I am persuaded 'tis next to impossible to destroy the high Relish which People in general have for Works of this Nature.

Upon the Whole, Sir, if the Ladies wou'd be happy in themselves; if they wou'd claim the Respect, and add to the Happiness of Men of Sense and Merit; and what is still more important with them, if they wou'd give a real Grace and Loveliness to their Persons, let them employ the chief Part of their Time and Care in a Cultivation of the Understanding, and a right Management of the Heart and Conduct. I am,

SIR,
Their, and your humble Servant,
PUBLICUS.

Universal Spectator. N^o 74.

Of LUXURY, EXTRAVAGANCE, and MODERN POLITENESS.

Muli mortales, dediti ventri atque somno, indoliti, incultique, vitam sicut peregrinantes transire, quibus profecto, contra naturam, corpus voluptati, anima oneri fuit: Eorum vitam mortemque juxta aeternum, quia de utraque fletur.

SALLUST.

THIS Description of an indolent, insignificant, voluptuous People, is, I am sorry to say it, a severe Satire on great Numbers of both Sexes in this Kingdom.

If we take ever so cursory a Survey of this Metropolis, is it not almost incredible to find

half of them are of no Good to Community, farther than they promote Luxury and Expence? Walk thro' London, you see a Hurry of People; but as the Poet elegantly observes,

*Where thro' the streets with equal bustle they run,
Some to undo, and some to be undone;*

It must move much Concern if the real Business of every Passenger was inscrib'd on their Breasts: What Seenes would be open to Discovery? Would not any unfashionable, inelegant, plain Country Gentlewoman, who had been rudely push'd out of the Way by two Footmen and a Chair with Lady Townlove in it, be surpriz'd to see her Ladyship was going to her Banker's, not to receive any Bills, but — pawn her Jewels to discharge a Debt of Honour contracted at a Hazard Table?

Who would not laugh at Tom Easy, lolling indolently in his Chariot, rolling along to the Change, when it appeared he was hurrying to Mendose the Jew, to get his last Hundred, at 30 per Cent, to keep his Chariot — a Fortnight longer.

But besides such Occurrences as would excite Ridicule and Contempt only, how many would appear shocking from the Villanies and Vices which were going to be acted, merely in Consequence of Luxury and Corruption? Oppression, Ruin and Desolation would glare on the Breasts of some. Bribery, Fraud and Villany would rise triumphant on the Hearts of others. The false, the immodest, the mercenary Soul, would be mark'd on many a Pair of Stays; and many a Handkerchief would be stain'd with Wine, or scented with strong Waters.

It may be ask'd, why a Charge of this Nature should be urged stronger against the modern Age than against our Ancestors, for that no doubt there were the same Vices in Nature prevalent a hundred Years ago as well as now? There might be, but not equally prevalent. Luxury introduces itself into the State gradually; and no Body of People, any more than any single Person, grow the worse all on a sudden.

Nemo repente fuit turpisissimus, is a Maxim in publick as well as private Life. It is notorious that even within these forty Years the People have been universally more expensive, that is, more luxurious than our Fathers were at the Close of the last Century. There are more Equipages kept, — yet there are more Taxes; there are more Diversions, and more Want; there are more fine Gentlemen who keep Shops, and more Bankrupts in the Gazette; there are more Ladies of Taste, but fewer Housewives; there is more Oftentation, but less Substance; more Pomp, but less Hospitality; more Expence and less Frugality; our publick Debts are encreas'd without our publick Credit; Publick Dependency without Publick Spirit; and publick Offices without publick Economy.

The

The Ambition to look, to speak, to act politely, is, from the false Judgment of what true Politeness consists in, a great Introduction of the Vice I complain of: The Affectation of this Accomplishment has chang'd the manly good Breeding of our Fore-fathers into the slavish Politeness of Arbitrary Countries, and from an Imitation of their Vices banish'd the hospitable Good-nature and Frugality we were respected for. On a little Observation it is evident, that a glaring Equipage, a Singularity in Dress, a Taste for Operas, Ridottos, Masquerades, &c. take in the whole Circle of Politeness, and without a Knowledge of these, Politeness cannot exist: Hence it is young Noblemen and our Youth of Quality at their first Step into Life commence Coxcombs or Spendthrifts: That personal Worth and inherent Merit seldom attends the Gilt Chariot, or the Golden-tassel'd Chair; that instead of conspicuous Virtue and Knowledge in Arts and Sciences, my Lord or his Honour are famous only for their Debauches, or their Experience at the *Groom Porter's* or *White's*. Such a Depravity in High Life, descends gradually to the Lowest, and the Evil, from Imitation, becomes epidemic.

To be modernly polite, introduces Extravagance; that Indolence; to support that, the contracting Debts; and that Ruin. But where Ruin has not been the immediate Consequence to an extravagant Man, yet it has punish'd his Generation in a most sensible Manner.

Craftsman, Jan. 1. N^o 862.

Pope's Head Tavern, Nov. 30, 1742.

Bella, horrida Bella.

Mr. D'Anvers,

AS you have been long the Channel thro' which the national Grievances, as well as many particular ones, have been convey'd, I have, for that Reason, thought fit to make you acquainted with some of mine. This is the first Application I ever made to you, and possibly may be the last; for, hitherto, you and I have been of different Interests (having had a Command of Distinction, in the Legions kept in Pay against you) and I still reserve to myself that Right inherent to every Man who regards his own Interests, of declaring which Side I will take when Things, which are now doubtful, are a little more composed. But, to my Story.

I am, for ought I know, descended from an old Roman Family, my Name *Bellum* seems to indicate it, tho' my Intimates, for Brevity's sake, frequently call me *Bell*; and I have often thought the martial Signification of my Name had communicated something of the same Spirit to my Nature; for I was,

from my Childhood, inclined to warlike Exercises, insomuch, that, when a Boy, I never saw the pompous Parade of the Train-Bands thro' the City, but I was possest with unusual Ardour, and long'd to be in Action. This martial Spirit moved me, very early, to iolist amongst them. Thus, at once, I became a Part of the Army, where I have continued ever since; and tho' at first, I was in no higher Rank than that of a Serjeant, yet my military Disposition soon distinguishing me, I obtain'd a Pair of Colours; and, Step by Step, at last arrived to the truly honourable Post of Colonel, which I now posses. As my Genius thus inclined me to every Thing that was warlike, I could not help attending to Objects that had but the least Resemblance that Way. This made me a constant Observer of the Army at the other End of the Town, and there was seldom any Action, or Review, in Hyde-Park, but I was present at it; nay at the very bottom of their Service, that of firing by *Plattsons*, I ventured to assist. This constant Attendance of mine, by insensible Degrees, produced an Acquaintance between me and several of their Officers, and we have often (in Conjunction with some of ours) communicated together, after Action, on the Art military; nay, so far at last had our Intimacy arrived, and our Similitude in Circumstances, that I was in great Hopes, if the Point of Precedency could be but once settled between us, that the two Armies might perform their Exercises in one joint Body; and thus add a double Terror to his Majesty's Enemies.—Add to this reciprocal Harmony, and constant Correspondence between us, it might be, in Part, owing, that the Practice of both Bodies in the Art of War were become pretty near the same.

In this Interim, the Face of Affairs, both at home and abroad, was unhappily changed, insomuch, that it was thought necessary to remove the Seat of War from Hyde-Park to Flanders, where, it is well known, a considerable Body of the Army from the other End of the Town was sent, and, upon the Account of the many Reviews, which would likely happen, a proportionable Number of the Officers was also order'd with them, amongst them many of my quondam Friends. But now, Mr. D'Anvers, here it is that I begin with my Complaints. The Campaign in Flanders is happily ended, and with as little Loss on either Side as ours in Bunhill-Fields; several of the Officers return'd of my Acquaintance, but, alas! how alter'd! the very Men who once were proud of my Conversation, will now hardly speak to me; this confounded foreign War has turn'd their Brains; they already affect to laugh at all our Discipline, and pretend to call our Reviews a *Farce* in Comparison to that grand one of the Hanoverian Forces, which, being drawn

drawn up in one Line, extended (as they say) three Leagues in Front. This is one of the bad Effects of our outlandish Wars; tho' they do not occasion much Bloodshed, yet they are the Cause of great Vanity, and many Untruths amongst us. I could tell these Gentlemen (as little as they seem to regard me) of many Battles, where I have been present, which, for all their affected Valour, would make their Hair stand an End. To pass over all those in *Whitcospel, Bunhill-Fields, &c.* I would only remind them of the late famous Action at Westminster, where, when mine and their General in Chief was beat out of the Field, with great Rout and seeming Ruin, and the Enemy remained Masters, in all Appearance, both of the Field of Battle and every Thing else, we retired to our last Resource, the *Citadel, or Treasury*, in which, when their incessant Firing had made a considerable Breach, and they, to all Appearance, were preparing to enter, it was my Fortune to command the forlorn Hope, and to defend the Passage; where, 'tis notorious, I stood Buff for many Days together, against all the Shot, the Fire, and Clamour of the outragious Enemy. Nor was I relieved from that hot Service, till, by a Party first, and an Accommodation afterwards, among the Chiefs of both Sides, Things were happily adjusted, and, by an honourable Capitulation, we were suffer'd to march out with Drums beating, Colours flying, &c. This, Mr. D'Anvers, was, in Truth, very dangerous Service. But, however, one Thing in your Ear.—*As much in Earnest as it seem'd to be to those without Doors, I believed it to be as very a Jest as any other of the Actions I was concern'd in of Bunhill-Fields; else, perhaps, I should not have been so tough.—But this between ourselves.*

Another Grievance I must mention, and that to me, of a worse Sort than the former, because it affects my Pocket; which is, that, upon a late Expedition of our Forces to *Flanders*, it was generally apprehended that the Campaign would be open'd with the Siege of *Dunkirk* (which, in that Case, we all look'd upon to be lost); nay, so certain were we in the City of it, that our Army there were making great Preparations for the Siege, and taking that important Place a second Time in *Bunhill-Fields*, as has been, you know, always the Custom, on these Occasions, amongst our Branch, at this End of the Town. For which Purpose, several of our great Officers, resolving to take the Field, had prepared very splendid Equipages, particularly myself, as I had the Post of Honour assign'd me; for I was to have led on the *Hanoverians* to the Attack, so I was resolv'd to show on that Occasion; and, I assure you, Mr. D'Anvers, what with Sump-tuer-Mules, Led-Horses, and, particularly, my

*own charging Horse, whose Furniture was very magnificent, my Costs amounted to more than I chuse, at present, to mention. Thus prepared, we only waited for the Arrival of the next *Flanders Mail* to tell us, that our Brethren had begun the Operations abroad, that we might then immediately have open'd our Trenches here at home; when lo, to our great Mortification, we were assur'd that, instead of Action, the Army had gone into Winter-Quarters; so that I myself am fairly saddled, instead of my Horse, with all the Cost of Trappings, rich Furniture, &c. But, however, my Comfort is, they dare not laugh at me; because there are some much greater than myself in the same Scrape,*

I am, SIR, at present,
Your affur'd humble Servant,
GEORGE BELLUM.

Common Sense, Jan. 8. N° 308.

Of all the conundrumical Inconsistencies, and incoherent Images that ever arose from a sick Stomach and a weak Head, very few have come up to the following; tho' I confess (says Mr. Common Sense) sometimes the Man seems to me to dream with his Eyes broad open.

To Mr. COMMON SENSE.

SIR,

I Have lately had a strange Farce play'd in my Brains while I slept; I wish you would please to interpret it for me, or if you cannot, or will not give me a Cast of your Att, I desire you will publish it; perhaps some Adept in this Science may find out the Meaning of the Vision, of which I confess myself to be totally ignorant.

I was the other Night lifted up in my Imagination, and seated on the Summit of a Mountain very high, and from whence I enjoy'd the Prospect of a very beautiful and fruitful Country beneath me, which, while I was contemplating with great Satisfaction, behold, my Pleasure was interrupted with the martial Noise of Armies and military Musick, when, looking down on my right Hand, I was surprised with the Sight of two Armies in Battalia, opposed, and on the Point of joining Battle: They were call'd, as I observ'd in their different Standards, by the Names of the *Patriarchists* and the *Crusolites*: The Signal was given, the Warriors engaged, the Battle was doubtful, and remain'd so for some Time; the Generals on each Side did their Duty well, while Victory was in Suspence; but so soon as one Side gave Way, which was the Army of the *Crusolites*, their General in Chief, seized with a sudden Pannick, quitted the Field, and left his Lieutenant to make good his Retreat in what

what Manner he could. This Deserter of a General, who had govern'd long with Success, and was the Chief of the *Chrusolites*, fled immediately to the High Priest of the Sun, and falling before him on his Knees implored his Protection and Guaranty; methought this same High Priest was *Generalissimo* of both Armies, tho' I knew not how to reconcile it, and that his Vestments were partly sacerdotal and partly military; his outward Garment was a Robe of Purple, and underneath a Tunic and a Cope, and a Coat of Mail; his Loins were girded with a very broad and sharp Scymitar, and on his Head he wore a bright Helmet, and a large Plume: It seem'd to me that he could extend his Arms to an extraordinary Length; in his right Hand he held a long Wand which had the peculiar Nature of the *divining Wand*, and, whenever used for that Purpose, pointed of its own Accord to Mines of Gold and Silver in whatever Part of the Earth they lay concealed; on his left Arm he bore a Shield of impenetrable Adamant, which had a magnetick Virtue to draw out of the Earth the Treasures which the Wand pointed out; instead of the Priestly *Urim* and *Tummim*, there were to be seen on his Breast, beneath his Coat of Mail, these Characters *TORUPHOBEIA*. The General now consulted the High Priest about clapping up a Peace, as after the Loss of a Battle it is the first Thing the beaten Party consult; he told him he was sure that the Chief of the *Patriarchists* would, if they were properly apply'd to, become staunch *Chrusolites*. They were immediately properly applied to, and the Leader and several of the Chiefs were suddenly reconciled to Preference, and became in a Moment thorough *Chrusolites*: And now, I own it, I was much astonished at the Sight, I saw them instantly change their Characters, their Habits turn'd immediately from a bright Azure, the Regimental Colours of the Chiefs of the *Patriarchists*, into a dull muddy Yellow, the Liveliest, Time out of Mind, of the *Chrusolites*, a Colour exactly resembling that which the solar Beams reflect from a black Cloud, and it appear'd to me, that not only their Vestments, but their very Features were immediately changed; and not only this, but to their great Shame and Misfortune, they were immediately appointed the Generals of the Defeated *Battalia*; this Mixture I thought very odd, however so it was, and it was observed, that these new Converts, like those in Religion, became more inveterate than any against those of their own former Persuasion, and fought with a more uncommon Rancor and Ardor against them, than when they were the Generals of the *Patriarchists* before; However, the War was renewed, and the *Patriarchists* battled it again and again, but, ever after their first Defeat, without any

considerable Success: If you ask what was the Cause of Quarrel, we are told, both Sides accused one another mutually of several Crimes; the *Patriarchists* accused their Enemies of being Idolaters and Worshippers of Gold, and that they had a Design to make the High Priest so tall, that they should never be able to live but under his Shadow: The *Chrusolites* laugh'd, and told them, they were mighty silly, a Parcel of ignorant Country Poutes, who durst pretend to talk of Virtue at this Time of Day, and that they did not know the World. But the whole Truth of this Matter, as it appeared to me was, that the Party to whom the Chief Priest lent at any Time the Use of his Wand and his Shield, must be invincible; for I observ'd, that after every Defeat, the *Chrusolites* were perpetually at Work with the *divining Wand and Shield*:—They were at that Instant very busy, when—I awoke—and was prevented from dreaming my Dream out: But however, if it should ever join again, tho', they say, second Parts are never good, I will send you the Sequel of the Farce.

Your dreaming Friend,
ONEIROGRAPTO.

Universal Spectator, Jan. 8. N° 744.

The Humours of Sign-Painting.

Mr. SPECTATOR,

DTHE other Day going down Ludgate-Street, several People were gazing at a very splendid Sign of Q. Elizabeth, which, by far, exceeded all the other Signs in the Street, the Painter having shewn a masterly Judgment, and the Carver and Gilder much Pomp and Splendor: It rather look'd like a Capital Picture in a Gallery, than a Sign in the Street.

This Accident excited some Considerations on the Signs in general, and, on Observation, I found your Predecessor's Scheme of having the Signs under proper Regulation, would be highly necessary. The late King of France did not think it beneath his Dignity to reduce the Sign Posts in *Paris* to an Uniformity and moderate Size. It were to be wish'd, the great Irregularity, so visible in the Streets of *London*, were regulated by publick Authority. It may be every where observ'd, what expensive Articles these must be; and if this Humour, of having very fine Signs, prevails, it will be a considerable Drawback to a young Fellow at first setting up, especially if he has a great Spirit and a small Fortune. In these Kind of Observations, an odd one surpris'd me, which was, where-ever I turn'd my Eyes they were dazzled with Gold, and I could not walk a dozen Yards without having my Head cover'd with it. These Signs are more frequent

quent than any other ; but tho' they are very pompous and magnificent, they are very ill design'd and unnatural ; the City Painters, in their Use of Lacker and Leaf-Gold, having consulted Ostentation before Propriety. As without the last, there can be no Elegance, I was offended to see Trees, Fruits, Flowers, and every Thing metamorphos'd into a new Appearance. Who would not expect to see the Leaves of a Tree green, a Rose with a faint Blush of Crimson ? Or is it not absurd to see Knives, Axes, Scissars and Saws represented in a Metal which can bear no Edge ? Nor less is it to see Golden Fish, Golden Legs, Golden Perriwigs, and Golden Leather Bottles ? Some Genius's will have a Golden Cheese, others Sugar Loaves of Gold : I have seen a Golden Half Moon instead of a Silver one ; and I believe some Men have Tons of Gold over their Doors, who are not worth an Ounce of Silver within. — Golden Rings, Crowns, Sceptres, and such are proper enough ; but to gild every Object without Distinction, would make a Foreigner think that all our Painters had the Fate of *Midas*, and turn'd whatever they touch'd to Gold.

On communicating these Thoughts to a Friend, in Return he gave me his: As for your critical Remarks, says he, they are just enough in Point of Painting ; but if you consider the Range of Signs for the Intent they were put up, their Gilding is not so absurd ; they are Tokens of the Wealth within their Shop : I never shall think there can be too much Gold in the City ; and give me Leave to add a Pun — that *Gold* is always a *good Sign*.

TIM. ODDWAY.

I cannot but approve the conclusive Pun (says Mr. Spectator) which I think a compleat Defence for Sign-Gilding in London : But besides that Particular in Sign-Painting, to the curious Passenger there are several other ingenious Devices and emblematick Depictments, which would afford him Contemplation and Diversion. In Ben Jonson's Play of the *Alchymist* he introduces *Abel Drugger* coming to *Foce*, who represents a Conjurer, not only to denote his *Name*, but bring him Custom, which by a Conundrum of a *Bell* and a *Rug*, and a *Dog growling Er*, is most ingeniously devis'd. I have in my Walks seen some humble Imitators of *Abel*: What a fertile Genius must the Man have who divides his Sign into two Compartments, in one he paints *K. Henry's Head*, in the other a *Fish* and a *round white Ball* ; but all the Jest would be lost, if he did not under them paint *Henry Whiting*. Mrs. *Salmon* at the *Salmon* has been long famous. Some hang up their own *Heads* for a Sign, as did *Lubck* and *Brown*, to shew that they in their Art of Cackery were as great Men as your *Eugene* and *Marlborough* ;

3

in the Art of War. Some denote their Education, Profession and Temper, on the Outside of their House: The *Three Merry Draymen*, and the *Three Jolly Butchers*, have no doubt drawn in many of each Fraternity, who might have stopp'd at the *Crown* or the *King's Head*. I have not Time to recollect or enumerate many other Things of this Nature ; I shall only add, that there is a *Satirical Colour-man* near St. *Giles's Church*, who has on his Sign made a *Satire on the whole Fair Sex*, by drawing on it a well-dress'd genteel Lady, but *without a Head*, and under her is written,

The Good WOMAN.

I shall conclude the Whole, that I think there was never greater Encouragement given to Sign-Painting, so that the Artists in *Harp-Alley* must mend their Hand, or they will have only the Business of Chandlers-Shops and Dairy-Cellar. By the *Undertakers* long Scenes of Funerals, and some *Conversation Pieces* I have lately seen, I should not be surpriz'd to hear Monsieur *Varlo* employ'd in giving a *Portrait*, or Mr. *Haymans* a *History-Piece*.

Craftsman, Jan. 15. N^o 864.

Our Conduct in relation to the War with Spain, how to be accounted for.

WHEN the Body of the Nation were earnest for a War with *Spain*, the pompous Lists of our Navy, the Numbers and Gallantry of our Seamen, the Vastness of our Revenues, and the Recollection of our past Exploits, in a Manner turn'd our Heads, and we thought we had nothing to do, but to go in Quest of the Enemy, in order to conquer. But we never once imagined, that, tho' we declared War, we should never fight : We were still such Dupes, as to continue our Trust in the Hands of those, who had already betray'd it, and ridiculously flatter'd ourselves that they would, at last, espouse the Cause of their Country in earnest, and retrieve the Honour of *Great Britain*, tho' thereby they ratify'd their own Disgrace. In this Belief, we not only comply'd with all the Cravings of those in Power, without dropping the least Doubt of their Fidelity, nay, without seeming to entertain any Doubt at all ; but as if we had agreed to purchase a Peace with the Minister, and a War with *Spain* together.

More than one Pamphlet hath been publish'd, expressly to point out *Great Britain's* Mistakes, in the Conduct of this War ; but surely this was the greatest, as being the Parent of all the rest.

Had we cast our Eyes backward, as well as forward, we had discover'd abundant Reason, for not being so over-generous ; we had,

had, on the contrary, easily gather'd, that he who had so obstinately opposed a War, not only in Contempt of the Judgment, but in Defiance of the Resentment of the whole Nation, would be far from wishing it Success, and, consequently, would make but very feeble Efforts to render it successful. A Show of War, by way of Issue for the Supplies, and Pretence for farther Levies, was the utmost to be hoped from him. But, as to any real and effectual Services, such as we put ourselves in Arms to obtain, nothing short of Infatuation could induce us to expect them from that Quarter.

Peace! Peace! Peace! upon any Terms, had been the Cry within Doors, and the Echo of his Creatures without, from the Time that the Nation first demanded Vengeance upon their Enemies; and in order to silence our Merchants, when they complain'd of their insupportable Losses, they were not only reproach'd for carrying on an illicit Trade, but, in Papers known to be under the Influence and Direction of the Minister, the Conduct of Spain was publickly justify'd. In the same Papers, likewise, our Eagerness to enter into a War, was sometimes declaim'd against, sometimes ridiculed, and always represented as flowing from national Pride, Prejudice, Faction, any Thing but right Reason, sound Policy, or even common Sense.

Was it then to be supposed, that he, who had thus industriously labour'd to stave off this War, who had publickly wash'd his Hands of all Concern in it, and took Care to be absent, when it was resolved upon and declared; was it to be supposed, I say, that he would, at once, adopt the Child of the People, and, by suffering it to thrive under his Care, give the Lie to his whole Conduct, for so many Years before?

Is it not easy to see, that every prosperous Step which had been taken in the Course of the War, would have done Honour to those who insisted on the Rupture, and reflected Shame and Disgrace on him, who had, till then, been the grand Obstacle to the Prayers of his injured Country?

Here, then, we have the Clue to that crooked Maze of Policy, in which we have been so long wandering. This accounts for the sending Admiral *Vernon* away, without a Body of Land-Forces, and that he was forced to plead rather the Spirit, than the Letter of his Orders, to justify an Action to the Ministry, for which he was applauded by all the rest of the World. This accounts for Embargoes, Impressions, and all the other studi'd Discouragements thrown upon our Commerce; the utter Neglect of our Coasts; the Time consumed in building, instead of buying, Twenty-Gun Ships, for that most necessary Service; the flagrant Expedient of

sending raw, and almost undisciplined Troops, instead of Veterans, to the *West-Indies*, and the dispatching such ambiguous Orders to our Fleet in the Bay of *Cadiz*, as left the Seas open to the Enemy, and, by a second Escape, enabled them not only to secure their own Colonies, but to endanger ours. This accounts likewise for the Squadrons of first, second and third Rate Ships sent out only to beat the Seas, and be number'd in Lists as Guard-Ships for the Security of our Trade; the rash Attack on *Cartagena*; the Wild-Goose Chase in the *South-Sea*, and all the other warlike Frolics, which have served only to exhaust our Purses, consume our Men, weary out our Patience, and expose our Conduct.

With whatever Justice and Reason, then, we contended for the War, we departed from the one, and disappointed ourselves of the other, when we submitted the Conduct of it to those who had a visible Interest in rendering it burdensome and ineffectual.

But, that our Admiral is returned, that our Land-Forces are consumed, that it seems to be held no longer practicable to make such Acquisitions in the *West-Indies*, as might make us Amends for our Losses, and serve to secure us from future Dangers, cannot, however, furnish out any Matter of Triumph to our domestick Adversaries; since it is apparent these Misfortunes do not so much take their Rise from the Nature of the War itself, as the shameful Management of it, for which they only are answerable.

Common Sense, Jan. 22. № 310.

Of FLATTERY and FLATTERERS.

TH E great Roman Historian, *Tacitus*, who very well understood human Nature, says, *Pessimum Genus Inimicorum laudantes; our Flatterers are our worst Enemies*: The Reasons are plain; as these Foes always act under the specious Appearance of our Friends and Admirers, they do in a Manner steal us from ourselves, and by fapping our Understandings, and dressing us in false and gaudy Colours, make us conceive ourselves to be the Things, which they have represented to us we are; they work up every darling Vice and Folly that they find within us into an imagin'd Virtue; and when they have succeeded thus far, they bend the Knee before these Idols of their own raising, and live luxuriously on the Fruit of their Adulation.

This is but a broken and an unfinished Sketch of the Character of a Flatterer; let us then consider a little the Nature of this Vice, and what Creatures are most liable to be caught thus by their own *Sufficiency*, (for that is ever the Case) and of what Kind the Seducers are.

As the Creatures we call *Parasites* always discover a Lowneis, a despicable Littleness of Mind that almost divests them of Humanity, and throws them down to the brute Creation, so we may observe even among Animals, the greatest Flatterers are the minutest in their outward Forms, as if Nature intended, when she gave them not Muscle and Vigour to support themselves by their exterior Agility and Strength, that they should live upon their Wits, and supply themselves by their *Fawning*, with what they had not Force enough to obtain by any other Means. Among the minutest of these Minutes are Flies of all Sorts, Monkeys, Parrots, Lap-dogs, Spaniels, Jackalls, &c. these all live at the Tables of the Great, and are their superfluous or supernumerary Ticklers. Flies are Flatterers free of all Houses, they buzz in every Ear, and sip out of every Cup: The Monkey chatters, grins, and mimicks, and plays a thousand Tricks to please his Master: The Lap-dog is the Flatterer of the *Ruelle*, and, by Nature a Churl, insults every one with his Voice and his Teeth, except *Madam Vanity*, his Lady, whom he licks and kisses: The Spaniel ranges the Field, springs the Game, delights the Sportsman, takes his beating chearfully, fawns and is fed: The Jackall, who may be said to be the Tip-top of all these, even a Court Flatterer, as he is *Purveyor-General* to his Sovereign *Lord the Lion*, has a good Nose, and points the Prey; the Monarch gluts himself with the Venison his little Servant procures, and the Minister is amply rewarded by his dining after him. Travellers tell us there is a little Creature call'd the *Ichnuum*, who is *Parasite* to the Crocodile; his Busines is to clean his Master's Teeth, and his Perquisites are the Carnage he finds there. But let us leave these *Animalcula* and go a little higher, let us take a View of the Flatterers and the Flatter'd in the humam Species. It is the peculiar, the proper Busines of these *Ever-wig* to apply to the Passions of their *Pupils*, (for I think they may be call'd so without Impropriety;) these Sycophants must take all Shapes, they must be Pimps, Cooks, Lawyers, Physicians, Parsons, Politicians, Poets, &c. as the Nature of the Service shall from Time to Time require.

Flattery is the Food of Fools, says the Proverb; but daily Experience informs us, it is the Food of wise Men too: Tho' some Complexions are by Nature, others by Knowledge, more hardly to be impress'd by this Vice; yet, at some Times, and in some Parts, every Man is open. Our *Shakespear*, that great Master of Nature, makes *Decius* (* in the Conspiracy Scene) answer *Cassius*, who doubts whether they shall be able to persuade *Cæsar* to come forth to the Capitol that Day;

* *Tragedy of Julius Cæsar,*

never fear that,
I can o'erway him, for he loves to bear
That unicorns may be betray'd with trees,
And bears with glaives, elephants boles,
Lions with toils, and man with flattery:
But when I tell him, he bates flatterers,
He says he does; — being then most flattered.

A This was a Thrust not to be parried by the great Victor himself: But this subtle Flattery can only be practised by Men of Genius and Parts, and upon Men of as great or superior Talents; but when it does take Place, there is hardly any Antidote to be found to this Poison; this *Circean Cup*, thus administred, turns *Demi-Gods* and *Heroes* into Brutes and Monsters.

B How very careful then should great and wise Men be, not to be intoxicated with this Poison? And now let us see how low a great Man, who designs to turn Flatterer himself, may fall; surely the most perfect Piece of Eloquence that ever came from the Mouth of Man stands at this Hour, and will for ever remain an Evidence of the Necessity of guarding against this Folly: I mean that Oration of *Cicero* address'd to *Cæsar* on the Behalf of *Marcellus*. Who can read his Words, and not be mov'd with Astonishment at the shining Abilities of that accomplish'd Orator? Who can reflect, and not without the deepest Concern behold this great Patron and Defender of the Liberty of the Roman People, bending before, and supplicating the Invader of that very Liberty, and condescending to flatter him with the same Lips that destroy'd *Catiline*?

Craftsman, Jan. 22. N° 865.

Of the Abuse of Authority in Courts of Justice.

E NEXT to the Imposition of Grievances and Oppressions, under the Name of *Laws*, the Abuse of Authority, in Courts of Justice, is one of the greatest Calamities that can beset a free People. That any such detestable Practice, at present, subsists, I am far from affirming; but that it has formerly subsisted, almost in every Reign alike, is manifest from every State-Trial upon Record, in which Power was to be complimented with the Life of a Subject, who had Sense to feel Oppression, or Spirit to oppose it.

G Thus Sir *Walter Raleigh* was made an infamous Sacrifice to the Resentment of the *Spaniards*, his inveterate Enemies. Thus Lieutenant-Colonel *Lilburne*, who had fought for his Country, under the Banners of the Parliament, was try'd for his Life, under the Usurpation of *Cromwell*, for writing in the Defence of Liberty, and had the Weight of the whole twelve Judges employ'd to sink him at his Trial; tho' he had the Spirit and Address to support himself against them all, and

and made so noble and obstinate a Defence, that neither Threats, or Rewards, could prevail on his Jury to bring him in Guilty. Thus Mr. Pen, the Quaker, was prosecuted for a Riot, only for preaching at the Door of his Meeting, which he was hindered from entering by a Guard of Soldiers; and, tho' he likewise made a Shift to escape, the most arbitrary Practices imaginable were used to prevent it; he himself being refused to be heard in his own Defence, his Jury almost starved to compel them to bring in such a Verdict as the Court pleased, and afterwards fined and imprisoned for refusing to be perjured. Thus honest Colledge, the Protestant Joiner, and the unhappy Mr. Cornish, one of the Sheriffs of London, were, at different Times, made the Victims of this shocking Prostitution. Thus fell the amiable Lord Rassel, the heroick Sydney, and, almost, the whole Multitude of devoted Innocents, who were butcher'd by inhuman Jefferies, to glut with Vengeance, a sanguinary and inexorable Prince.

One abandon'd Judge may do more Mischief than a whole standing Army; open Force we can, and dare oppose; but Injustice, or Persecution in Law-Proceedings, are so doubly, and trebly sanctify'd, that the Sufferer must not even presume to complain.

'Tis true, we have the Benefit of a *Habeas Corpus Act*, to prevent the Containment of an arbitrary Imprisonment; but a Case may be of so much Consequence, and a Judge so scrupulous, that a whole Term may escape, and the Prisoner be left just where he was before; we have likewise the Assistance of Counsel; but all their Arguments may be over-ruled; and tho' the most trifling Circumstances are of Weight in the Scale of the Crown, *Magna Charta* itself may be held but as a Feather, in that of the Prisoner; and, in special Cases, Ways and Means may be found to make even a Jury but a Nose of Wax, to be turn'd and twisted just as the Court pleases. We have, moreover, had a Revolution, which was set on Foot, and accomplish'd, not only to remove the Grievances, the Nation then groan'd under, but to re-establish our Liberties on a Foundation, that Time itself shall not be able to demolish, or undermine. But, whatever were the Views, Consequences may not be altogether suitable; and, tho' we have now the Happiness of a Prince, a Senate, and a Ministry, who make it their Pleasure, Interest, and Glory, to act purely and simply for the Commonwealth, apart from any Self-Gratifications whatever; yet this golden Scene may not always last, and some future *Pbarab* may arise G who knew not *Joseph*.

*Tis the Advice of *Macchiavel*, That who-

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ever would change the Constitution of a State, should keep, as much as possible, to the old Forms. For then the People, seeing the same Officers, the same Formalities, Courts of Justice and other outward Appearances, are insensible of the Alteration, and believe themselves in Possession of their old Government.

A Now, Sir, I am inclined to believe, that, if any ambitious, or mercenary Minister, in future Times, should incline to try this Experiment on us, 'twill be on this subtil *Florentine's* Foundation. Our Histories abound with Instances of both Favourites and their Masters ruin'd, by arrogantly producing the Yoke, and imperiously asserting, 'twas our Duty to put it on; we are therefore to conclude, that if their Wrecks will not induce their Successors to act with more Uprightness, and Fidelity, for our Sakes, 'twill at least caution them to conduct their Designs with greater Care and Prudence for their own.

B — The Application of this takes in rather too large a Field for me to expatiate upon at present, and I shall limit myself to my first Point, the Abuse of Authority in Courts of Justice only.

Cases of Property, between Man and Man, are but Trifles, in Comparison to those which relate to Liberty, Pains and Penalties, Honour and Life. In these, an Injury to the meanest Briton, is an Injury to the whole Nation; for Iniquities in Law, become Precedents; and what we are Spectators of To-day, To-morrow we may suffer in Person. In short, Law may be made the most comprehensive Snare of the State; and only to be obnoxious to a vindictive Minister, may be Guilt enough to entangle the most Innocent, beyond the Possibility of an Escape. What thinking Man does not tremble to reflect, that his Life is at the Mercy of any two Russians, who may be hired to swear it away? That the most meritorious Writing may be tortured into a Libel, tho' the Contents are ever so true, or ever so important, to the Welfare, Glory, or Safety of one's native Country? That Evidences, Advocates, Juries, and every other Requisite, are seldom wanting to defeat any Right, or effect any Wrong? And that, in Case we should surmount all these Difficulties and Dangers, *Noli Prosequi's*, Indemnifications, &c. are standing Screens to preserve the most abandon'd of human Kind, from the punishment they so notoriously deserve?

D These and a thousand more tragicke Incidents, being what we, or our Posterity may be one Day liable to, I thought it my Duty to lay this slight Sketch before the Publick; that, every one being alarm'd, all may learn to beware.

E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z JOVE'S

JOVE'S MASTER-PIECE.

ONCE Jove, the fire of gods and men,
(The muses say not where nor when)
Curious his utmost skill to try,
And shew his ingenuity,
With plattick fingers form'd a mold,
Wondrous to see, of burnish'd gold ;
And culling out the finest clay,
Soon cast a nymph, as bright as day,
Proportion just, and symmetry,
In ev'ry limb, and feature lie !
Enamou'd of his work, the god
In silent admiration stood :
Whilst Jove shot swift thro' ev'ry vein,
With fierce desire, and pleasing pain.
At length, he cries ! I rage, I burn,
I feel my former flames return,
The symptoms too too well I know !
But sure I never lov'd as now.
My pulse so quick did never beat ;
I never felt such scorching heat.
Fool that I was to work my ruin,
Ingenious to my own undoing !
For if dame Juno sees this lass,
Her radiant eyes, her charming face ;
Tho' I shou'd swear by awful Styx,
She'll think I'm playing o'er old tricks,
Will rant, and scold with discord fell,
And turn this heaven to a hell.
And with good reason, for I vow,
I ne'er saw one so fair till now.
Against me Venus too will rise
With blubber'd cheeks, and tearful eyes ;
Judging from this bright creature's mien,
That I design her beauty's queen.
He paus'd—and look'd—and look'd again,
And seem'd in agonizing pain,
Till rousing all his strength, he said,
Shall Jove be conquer'd by a maid ?
Shall heaven's highest, greatest god,
Who shakes the orbit with a nod,
A forc'd, unwilling victim prove,
And fall a sacrifice to love ?
Forbid it, majesty, and pride—
Forbid it, virtue—then he cry'd,
O glorious conquest worthy me !
O painful, hard-won victory !
'Tis truly godlike to refrain,
And o'er ourselves triumphant reign.
Tho' much I question if I cou'd,
When youth enflam'd my wanton blood,
So great a self-denial shew,
And such a sweet intrigue forego.
But since it is to keep the peace,
And all th' ethereal realms at ease ;
Hence let th' enchanting beauty go,
To captivate the world below.
He spoke—and in a cloud convey'd
To Tonys side the blooming maid :
Where with unrival'd sway she reigns
The toast of all the love-sick swains,
So fair a nymph the sons of men
Ne'er saw—not ever shall again,

For Jove reflecting in his mind
On all the foibles of mankind,
And fearing lest they shou'd adore
The heaven-dwelling pow'rs no more,
If such love-darting females shou'd
Frequent the plain, or haunt the wood,
But all their off'riags, and esteem,
Their vows, and pray'r's transfer to them ;
In prudence hurl'd the mold away,
To where unathom'd chaos lay.

THE GARTER.

LATE has the ladies wardrobe been
Of much poetick wit the scene,
And every different part of dress
Has sent its poet to the press.
The Fan a glowing prelate fir'd,
And with fierce heat his breast inspir'd.
The Girdle, Waller's head has bound ;
And will do whilst the sun goes round.
Here might I quote too, him that wrote,
Important charge, the Petticoat ;
Nor thought the Patch, a machine
For e'n a Muse's foot too mean.
But when the Hoop has thus prevail'd,
Has the fair Garter hung conceal'd,
That it alone unsung should be,
And not make part o'th' harmony ?
Forbid it, bards ! if e'er you were
The Muses friends, who ladies are,
And can't but look on this neglect,
As mark of greatest disrespect :
What can this silence else suppose !
But that they never ty'd their bose,
Chaunting their soft harmonious peals,
With stockings down about their heels.

It cannot be ! there are, I wist,
Garters of worsted, silk, and list.
Didn't John give Jane a worsted pair,
Which nine-pence cost last Maudlin-Fair ?
Where he unluck'y chanc'd to view
Her taper leg, and stocking blue :
Fain wou'd the curious swain have spy'd,
Where the dear girl his present ty'd ;
But all in vain ! swains ne'er must know
Whether above knee, or below.
I've heard say too, I know not when,
Amongst profound and learned men,
That Horace in like case should say :
Nec scire fas est omnia.

When Edward England's scepter sway'd,
Edward the third, I should have said ;
At court one jovial holy-day,
The nobles brisk, the ladies gay ;
Musick and dancing fir'd each part,
Swift mov'd the leg, quick beat the heart.
Just in the middle of a tune
Of minuet, or of rigadoon ;
Which of the two most authors doubt,
Nor have I time to make it out :
A Garter dropt, they all agree,
From a fair countess' bended knee.
The king with th' odd adventure pleas'd,
Scoop'd low, and quick the trophy seiz'd.

Let

Let this the badge of knighthood be,
This the reward of chivalry,
He said: Her face the countess veil'd,
And in a blush her pride conceal'd.

But if, now I've my verses said,
My thoughts should rise in criticks head,
Hear but the Garter's own defence:
Honi soit qui mal y pense.

VERSES sent in a Letter to a Friend in the Country, who desired some Poetry from me.

WHILE you, my Florio, breathe untainted air,
And to the Muse-inviting shades repair;
Immers'd in smoke, stun'd with perpetual noise,
In vain I strive to tune my harsh, hoarse voice.
Yet since you bid,—familiar verse I write,
Verse which no Muse, nor any Grace indite:
Art's nice retouches don't expect to find;
Just as each thought springs bubbling on my mind,
To thee it flows with native freedom bold,
Such as our friendship will not have controul'd, {cold,
For friendship without freedom must be
How can that mind with warm affections burn,
Whose studied diction must each period turn?
La lays so wrote, tho' pompous thoughts may rise,
And rhetoric's gay flowers strike the eyes,
Invention, diction, numbers all may join,
To make the piece with labour'd beauties shine;
So let it shine — but with a glow-worm's ray,
It ne'er can warm, can melt, can waft the soul away.
Give me the Muse with happy boldness taught,
To soar in all the liberty of thought;
That dares from stiff, cold, awkward rules depart, {art."
" And snatch a Grace beyond the reach of Cau'd I but boast a real poetick fire,
Such as I fain would feel, but oft admire;
Such as in Homer, Virgil, Milton glows,
And paints their thoughts as lively as they rose;
Oh could I in the strong expression rise,
And my whole breast lay open to the eyes;
Then friendship's charming force might claim the song,
And all its pow'r's expanding-tune my tongue:
Then might I have to flying sounds confin'd
The vast idea rolling o'er the mind;
Describ'd how bright it burns, how pure its flame,
And to what height its joys exalt our frame.
But since to me the partial Muse denies,
To speak what raptures in my bosom rise,
Sao would I tune the song to easier themes,
To hills, or plains, or woods, or purling streams.

When Maro's youthful Muse essay'd to sing
Of kings, and battles, Phœbus clip'd his wing;
He bends to rural scenes his lower flight,
The rural scenes a consul's ear invite.

Such scenes * as those which late imprefs'd
my sight,
Inspiring all the softest, calm delight.
When from the downy hills where Roxton lies
In covert breathing of the purest skies,
The wide-extended champion met my view,
With one vast landscape of a various hue.
Here springs the verdant grass, close by appears
The blooming pea, there wave the golden ears;
No banks, no hedges rise to bound the eye,
But all in pleasing, gay confusion lie.
Or when I trac'd the banks so us'd to song,
Where laurell'd Cam flow-winding glides

[stream,
Fond of the Muse's seats that crown his And in proud silence feasts himself with fame.

Oh how my fancy warm'd, my bosom glow'd!

While at each step poetick ground I trod,
Here in this smiling mead might Spenser raise

His youthful voice, and tune his rustic lays.

Here o'er the flood where the green osier floats,

[notes:
With David's praise might Cowley swell his

+ Where that fair college lifts its stately head,

And views the spacious walks beneath it spread;

Thro' whose thick-woven trees the day scarce

plays, [rays.

Painting green darkness with its trembling In concert all around the feather'd choir,

May oft have join'd the song of Dryden, or

of Prior.

Oh how the prospect rises to my mind,
Struggling for vent ten thousand thoughts I

find.

But — to the task unequal, I resign,
And with the graces of thy song were mine.

STRATÖ.

Pious Rules for Daily Practice.

SOON as the morn salutes your eyes,
And from sweet sleep refresh'd you rise,
Think on the Author of the light,
And praise him for that glorious sight;

His mercy infinite implore,
His goodness infinite adore.

At noon, of what you then partake,
An offring of thanksgiving make;
Nor of the creatures for your use,
Be too luxuriously profuse;
For temp'rance, when with prudence join'd,
Brings health of body, peace of mind.

Take not at night the least repose,
E'er you to heav'n your soul disclose,
Consider how you've spent the day,
And for divine protection pray;
For you no blessing can expect,
If you to ask it do neglect.

F 2 PEALMY

* This was wrote in Summer last.

+ Trinity-College.

PSALM 55 Paraphrasis Pastica.

MAGNE Deus cœli, quos fundo è pectori questus
 Audi, nec durâ respue mente preces.
 Cernis ut insultant hostes me, voce minaci,
 Lingua tumens viro verba probrosa vomit.
 Cor trepidat, morta ante oculos versatur imago
 Mortis, & attonito membra pavore labant.
 Hinc tristes imo gemitus de pectori duco,
 Frænaque do linguae libertora meæ.
 O mea si tangant magnum suspiria Numen,
 Muter ut in pennas, casta columba, tuas!
 Protinus aligeris raperer super æthera velis,
 Despiceremque tuas, Eure tremende, minas.
 Bella gerant venti, cœbris micet ignibus æther,
 Horrida nil metuam fulmina missa polo.
 O Deus alme, viros dextrâ male perde sce-
 lestos,
 Qui vexant urbem nocte dieque dolis;
 Nocte dieque urbis qui circum mœnia cingunt,
 Quis comes it cœdes, vis, furor, ira, nefas.
 Non me vel linguæ hostes lædere vel armis,
 (Ilorum poteram probra vel arma pati,) At tu chare comes, nimium mihi chare, fa-
 lutis
 Spes quondam, vitæ præsidiumque meæ.
 O quam dulce fuit mihi tecum incedere, tecum
 Quam mihi dulce fuit visere templo Dei?
 O precor accipiat mors improvisa scelestos,
 Artifices viuos obrue, terra, dol.
 Ast ego, supremum, tendens ad sidera palmas,
 Ante aras, Numen nocte dieque colam.
 Audiet Omnipotens quos fundo è pectori ques-
 tus,
 Hostes vicitri diruet ille manu.
 Mille cadent dextrâ, morientur mille sinistrâ,
 Prædaque erunt canibus mortua membra
 feris. [lestos]
 Suppliciis fine fine premes, Deus alme, sce-
 Qui violent legis iura tremenda tuæ;
 Qui fictâ simulant affectus mentis amicæ
 Pace, sed evolvunt pectori triste nefas:
 Cor spirat fera bella, fecat sermo ensis ad instar,
 Dum rivos blando lacteus ore fluit.
 At tu fide Deo, mea mens, tu fide supremo
 Nominé, qui gressus dirigit usque tuos.
 Ante diem artifices elatis fraudisque peribunt,
 Sed mihi semper eris turris ahena, Deus.
Bright, Jan. 1. JOSIAH THORNFORD.

The MUSICAL PATRONAGE. Extempore.

AS the nine tuneful Nymphs, and the
 warbler Apollo, [low;
 Lay basking near Pindus, all in a green hol-
 Each a fav'rite wou'd take, and indulge him
 their smile, [lise.
 From among the musicians of Albion's fam'd

* Mr. Boyce, Composer to his Majesty, Author of the Music of SOLOMON (a beautiful Poem) now printing by Subscription.

The god pitch'd on HANDEL (who else
 shou'd he chuse?) [Muse,
 And eight other masters had each his bright
 There remain'd only Clio, who nice in her
 choice, [* BOYCE.
 At once the god fix'd it, by pointing to

The BOWER.

To the Tune of Blow blow: In Imitation of
 Shakespear.

1.

BLOW, blow, thou summer's breeze,
 O gently fan the trees,
 That form yon fragrant bower,
 Where Anna, loveliest maid,
 On nature's carpet laid,
 Enjoys the evening hour.

2.

Hence, hence, ye objects foul,
 The beetle, bat, and owl,
 The bagworm, newt, and toad;
 But fairy elves unseen
 May gambol o'er the green,
 And circle her abode.

3.

Shed, shed, thy sweetest beams
 In party-colour'd streams,
 Thou fount of heat and light:
 No, no, withdraw thy ray,
 Her eyes effuse a day,
 As kind, as warm, as bright.

4.

Beathe, breathe, thy incense, May,
 Ye flowers your homage pay
 To one more fair and sweet:
 Ye opening rose-buds, shade,
 With fragrance twine her head,
 Ye lilies kiss her feet.

5.

Flow, flow, thou crystal rill,
 With tinkling gurgles fill
 The mazes of the grove;
 And shou'd thy murmuring stream
 Invite my love to dream,
 O may the dream of love.

6.

Sing, sing, ye feather'd choir,
 And melt to fond desire
 Her too obdurate breast:
 Then in that tender hour,
 I'll steal unto the bower,
 And teach her to be blest.

Imitated from a favourite Air in Comus.

Ducite, ab urbe, domum; mea carmina! du-
 cite Daphnem. Virg. Ec. 8. 68.

FLY swiftly, ye minptes! till Damon receive
 The exquisite raptures Belinda can give:
 The

The tortures of absence—how painful to prove!
The transports of meeting—how melting to [love!]
Without my Belinda all beauties are vain;
All musick infipid; all pleasures—a pain;
Ye gods! if ye e'er took compassion to save,
My Belinda restore, or destroy what ye gave.
Z. Z.

An ACROSTICK.

Merit, like yours, invites each Muse to sing;
And mine, tho' young, unfolds her callow wing,
Rivals her sisters when they tune your praise;
Ye pow'rs! what Muse can then refuse her lays?

Perfect by nature, destitute of arts,
Our eyes but view you, and we lose our hearts:
Witty, discreet, compassionately kind,
Each charm in person, join'd to each in mind:
Lapronia, as some angel, we adore,
Laughing at mortals, whom we lov'd before.
AMATOR.

To Miss PATTY COOPER. A SONG.

SWEET pretty Patty, why so coy?
To your fond lover why so shy?
Why frowns that face, that's made for joy?
Why coldly gleams that radiant eye?
Love's like, my fair, a tender flow'r,
That opens kindly to the sun:
When frost comes on, with churlish pow'r,
It shuts, it dies; for ever gone.
By chilling frowns you check my love;
But cold disdain will quite destroy:
Kind eyes like warming suns will prove,
And raise a spring of love and joy.
View the creation round, you'll find,
Without a smile that nothing charms:
Beauty unsmiling and unkind
Nor tempts our eye, nor bosom warms.
In dimpling smiles when waters play,
When smoothly azur'd smiles the sky,
All nature's, like a lover, gay;
Then pleasure fills each heart and eye.
When ruffling clouds the sky deform,
And the swoln deep in billows frowns:
Love nurst by smiles, soon flies the storm,
And softer climes with pleasure crowns.
Then the sweet songsters of the boughs
No more dress out their feather'd pride,
Nor warb'e out their amorous vows;
Forgetting love, amaz'd they hide.
Learn hence by smiles new charms to add;
Give double lustre to your eyes:
By kindness your fond lover glad;
The strongest charm in kindness lies;

ODE for New-Year's-Day, compo'd by Colley Cibber, Esq; Poet Laureat to his Majesty; and set to Musick by Dr. Green.

Recitative, by Mr. Beard.

GLORY, what art thou? dazzling fire!
Which slaves revere, and kings desire.
Air, by Mr. Beard.

When wanton ruin, led by thee,
Invades the rights of liberty;
When plunder'd princes, and the cries
Of innocence, thy pride supplies:
Are these the vaunts that feed thy fame,
That smiles to see the world in flame?
Then let the impious Nero be,
For Rome consum'd, advanc'd to thee.

Recitative, by the Rev. Mr. Abbot.

How then, thou real essence of renown,
Shall from thy shadow, thy bright form be known?

Air, by Mr. Abbot.

To British Caesar turn the eye,
Around whose sacred brow alone
True glory shines, while liberty
With rays reflected gilds his throne!
There, weak and humbled at his feet,
Oppression, fraud and insult cowr;
Now fall the crest, abate their heat,
And for the peace they broke, implore.

Recitative, by Mr. Beard.

With arm'd invasion to demand annoy,
To sport with horrors and the groans of war;
To ravage, waste, and unprovok'd destroy,
Be that, ambition, thy vain-glorious care!

Duet, by Miss Beard and Bailey.

To shield the weak,
To make the proud repine,
To right the injur'd,
That, great George, be thine.

Air, by Mr. Bailey.

While Europe thus, in equal poise,
Her smiling liberty enjoys;
Whene'er, with feeble claims, the strong,
Of rightful realms the weak would wrong;
To end the strife, Britannia's lord
Shall bear the balance and the sword:
Such only is our Caesar's view,
Such only glory can be true.

Chorus.

On thee, great George, mankind rely,
To heal their grief, or swell their joy.

A Description of Winter near the Frigid Zone.
Out of Virgil's Geor. Book III.

NO grass the widow'd northern climes adorns,
Stript of its leafy pride each forest mourns.
Nor fields, nor vales their desert surface show,
More ghastly now, opprest with hills of snow;
But a diffusive cold unquestion'd reigns,
And northern winds breathe winter o'er the plains.

Fogg

Fogs too grow bold, and dare the edge of day,
While the pale sun, from his meridian way,
Looks faint on the proud shades, then blushing
speeds
In western waves, to bathe his fiery steeds.
The swiftest streams are crusted o'er with ice,
And waves, benumm'd with cold, forget to
rise.
There too where ships once cut the boist'rous
tide, [ly ride.
Insulting wheels are roul'd, and chariots proud-
The furs, grown stubborn, freeze on human
backs,
Vine bloodless falls, tho' wounded by the ax ;
The well a mine of icy crystal bears,
And on the beards dow bobs in hoary tears.
The teeming clouds descend in fleecy snow,
And death and graves at once to beasts bestow.
Here stands an ox clad o'er in frosts, and
there, [pear,
While just the tops of their high crests ap-
Unusual loads nod on the fainting deer.
None then with hounds did here the flag pursue,
Or trap with nets, or e'er with arrows flew ;
But while, immur'd in snow, they strive in
vain [thrust armain,
To force th' unwieldy ridge, and pant, and
Close met with swords, they pierce their
yielding breasts, [beasts.
And with loud shouts bear off the conquer'd
Then safe in caves the harden'd hunters lie,
Warm, and at ease, the frosts and storms defy ;
Whole groves are fell'd which eternize the fire,
And, while all night gay sports new mirth in-
spire,
Two genial heats to mend their fate combine,
Fire, and a spicy juice that mocks its rival
wine.

THAME and ISES.

SO the god *Thame*, as thro' some pond he
glides,
Into the arms of wand'ring *Iſis* slides ;
His strength, her softness, in one bed combine,
And both with bands inextricable join :
Now no *Cærulean* nymph, or sea-god, knows
Where *Iſis*, or where *Thame*, distinctly flows ;
But with a lasting charm they blend their
streams,
Producing one Imperial river — *Thames*.

On Admiral VERNON's taking his Seat in the
House of Commons.

WHAT S—— would have been thought,
what P—— seem'd,
(For honour lov'd, for patriotism esteem'd)
Be thou in truth, inflexibly the same ;
Retrieve the honour of the patriot's name ;
Above ambition's lure, or envy's sting,
Daring to serve your country, serve your king :
So shalt thou thus thy country's hopes fulfil,
And shew in *Vernon* there's a Briton still.

To LELIA. A SONG.

WHEN modest *Lelia*'s downcast eyes
Give token that she loves,
Within my soul what raptures rise !
What joys my bosom proves !

My heaving heart o'ercome with bliss,
Beats quick within my breast ;
Whilst in each warm and eager kiss
My passion is confess'd.

I melt, I pant, with fierce delight,
And languishments unknown !
Such ardours nothing could excite
But *Lelia*'s love alone !

Oh sweetest virgin ! ever shine,
With kind indulgent rays,
Upon a heart so soft as mine,
That all thy truth repays.

My tender foul was form'd for love,
And owns thy low-reign sway ;
Oh ! let thy smiles the vows approve,
Which at thy feet I pay.

The TROUBLED FAIR.

SUPPORT me, heav'n ! — Is that the
nymph divine,
Who with celestial splendors wont to shine,
Fair, as the gaudy rainbow's ruddy ray,
Lovely, as light, and like the morning, gay ?
Oh still ador'd ! how art thou now estrang'd !
How is thy form eclips'd ! thy glory chang'd !
The gentle bosom heaves with inward woe !
And down those marbled cheeks the silent
sorrows flow !

Where is the cheerful air ? the smiling grace ?
The lambent lustre of her joyous face ?
The glowing lips, with native crimson, bright ?
And azure eyes, that sparkled living light ?
Shorn of their beams, those sapphire globes
survey !

Fixt ! dim ! and dark ! and destitute of day !
Her beauties now their shining blossoms fled !
And gloomy care rolls mantling round her
head !

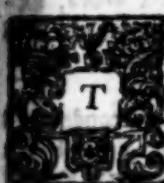
Her velvet lips have lost the damask dye !
And on her faded cheek the roses with'ring
lie !

Her bended front, on her white hand reclin'd,
Speaks loud the sad dejection of her mind.
So, the fair lily, over-charg'd with rain,
Hangs down its heavy head, and sickens on
the plain.

Spoken on waking out of a DREAM.

NATURE a thousand ways complains,
A thousand words express her pains ;
But for her laughter has but three,
And very small ones, *ba, ba, be.*

Monthly Chronologer.



HE latter End of last Month we had Accounts from *Ireland*, that *John Waite*, late one of the Cashiers of the *Bank*, who went off in *May 1741*, (see our *Mag.* for that Year, p. 256.) and for whom a Reward of 500*l.* was offer'd, was apprehended near *Dublin*, and committed to *Newgate* there. He was taken by one *Mr. Lawless*, formerly Clerk to an *Irish Merchant* in *Ironmonger-Lane, Cheapside*.

MONDAY, Jan. 3.

An Express arriv'd at the Admiralty, with the News of the Arrival at the Island of *Lundy* in *Bristol Channel*, of *Admiral Vernon*, in his Majesty's Ship the *Boyne*, from *Jamaica*. She had hazy Weather for several Days, and not having an Observation, by that Means miss'd the Channel.

TUESDAY, 4.

From the London Gazette.

On the 6th of December his Majesty's Sloop the *Wolf*, commanded by Captain *Lofting*, being on a Cruize off of *Oporto* and the adjacent Parts, was chased by a Privateer Schooner and three Lug-sail Barcolongos: Capt. *Lofting* took one of the Barcolongos with 19 Spaniards on board her, and chased the Schooner into *Bayonna Harbour*; he then man'd the Barcolongo Prize, and sent her in Shore after two Sail, which were taken with little Resistance, their Men escaping on Shore. On the 8th Capt. *Lofting* receiving Intelligence of a Privateer's being at *Porto Vedro* with two Prizes, he made for that Port, and after decoying a Pilot on Board by hoisting *French Colours*, he ran up under those Colours within a Quarter of a Mile of the Town, and then anchor'd alongside the Privateer, and hoisting his proper Colours fir'd both upon her and the Town, where was a Fortification with one 24 Pounder, and 300 Soldiers quarter'd in the Place, as the Pilot inform'd him. After an Hour's Firing, the Privateer's Men left her, and got on Shore; upon which Capt. *Lofting* man'd his Yawl, and took Possession of her, and of her two Prizes, a Brigantine and *Snow*, notwithstanding a continual Fire from the Breastworks on Shore, and carried them off.

THURSDAY, 6.

Admiral Vernon landed at *Bristol*, where he was received with the loud Acclamations of the People, and other Demonstrations of Joy.

MONDAY, 10.

Brigadier General *Wentworth*, who landed at *Portsmouth* last Friday from on board the

Defiance Man of War, arrived in Town.

WEDNESDAY, 12.

From the London Gazette.

This Day came in Letters from Sir *Cyril Wick*, Bart. his Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary at *Moscow*, giving an Account, that on the 11th past, he had sign'd with Count *Bestubceff* and M. *Brevens*, the Plenipotentiaries appointed by the *Czarina*, a Treaty of Friendship, Union and Defensive Alliance, between his Majesty and that Princess.

THURSDAY, 13.

This Day 30 Chests of Treasure, from on board the *Boyne*, were sent by Waggon from *Bristol* for *London*, each Chest containing at least 10,000 Pieces of Eight: Some of which is on Account of the Merchants, and the rest the glorious Trophies of *Admiral Vernon's* Conquests.

The same Day the said Admiral arriv'd at his House in *Jermyn street, St. James's*, from *Bath*; and soon after waited on his Majesty.

The following was printed in the London Evening Post of this Day.

To the AUTHOR, &c.

SIR,
THE Question, Whether or no the Crown can pardon Murder before Trial? being now the Subject of all Conversation, especially among Lawyers, they are desir'd to inform the Publick how or when the Statutes of the 2d of *Edward III.* Chap. 2. and the 13th of *Richard II.* Chap. 1. have been alter'd or repeal'd; for by these Statutes it seems plain, to a Man of common Understanding, that the King cannot pardon Murder. The Words of the first, as they stand in the Abridgment of the Statutes, are thus: "Charters of Pardon for Manslaughters, Robberies, Felonies, and other Trespasses, shall not be granted, but where the King may do it saving his Oath, viz. Where one Man killeth another in his own Defence, or by a Misfortune." And the Words of the other are thus: "If the Offence pardon'd be afterwards found wilful Murder, that Pardon shall not be allow'd." I know the Practice, for many Years, has been otherwise; but surely this will not be allow'd of sufficient Authority for repealing such express Acts of Parliament.

To WILLIAM VAUGHAN, Esq; Representative of the County of Merioneth.

WE the Freeholders of the County of Merioneth take this Occasion to put you

you in mind, that we who elected you, to represent us in Parliament, without any other Motive, without any Influence whatsoever, except the good Opinion we had conceiv'd of your Integrity, and of your Love for your Country, think we have a Right to expect that you should attend the Duty of that Trust, which you have taken upon you. We conceive, Sir, that you are bound, by all the Ties that can engage an honest Man, to attend it at all Times; but that there is more than ordinary Reason to be watchful at the present Juncture, when (by some Transactions) we have Reason to apprehend that Attempts will be made which can have no Consequence but to encrease our Grievances.

We cannot without some Concern reflect, that while a very large Sum was proposed to be raised upon the Subjects of *Great Britain*, to ease Foreigners of the Charge of paying their own Troops, we had no Representative present to declare our Sense of so extraordinary a Measure: We hope, Sir, we shall have no Occasion to make the like Complaints hereafter; we hope that no private Engagement, no Family Interests will prevail upon you, or any Gentleman, to keep from that Place, where the Absence of one honest Man may occasion the Loss of the publick Liberty.

As therefore we depend upon your Attendance, we request you to join heartily in endeavouring to procure us the Restoration of those Laws mention'd in the excellent Instructions of the City of *London* to its Representatives; Laws which we once enjoy'd, and without which, we conceive, that Liberty will soon become an empty Name, a Word made Use of only to amuse the Vulgar.

As the Impunity of publick Criminals may tacitly encourage and authorize Crimes of the like Nature; as the weak Successors of a wicked Administration may think their Power establish'd, their Wantonness supported, and their Retreat indemnified, by screening or adopting those Measares, in Opposition to which they had thrust themselves into Employment; we conjure you to use all Means in prosecuting that National Justice, which has been so treacherously retarded; in examining the Complaints of a feeling People, and in branding the Author of Corruption, that intestine Evil, by which this Nation must be enslav'd, since the Liberty of the Whole depends only on the Integrity and Virtue of the Individuals.

We must entreat you, Sir, to guard our Purses, already almost exhausted by a twenty Years rapacious Administration. While our Country swarms with the increasing Poor, let not the little that is left be drain'd from us to enrich other Countries.

Hold no Communication with those, who no sooner scented the Air of a Court, than

they forgot the Friends who confid'd in them, and the Country which nourish'd them.

We desire, Sir, that you will keep a watchful, a suspicious Eye over those who are for degrading this once rich Country, who are for reducing it to a Province to a Land to which we are Strangers. In a Word, exert an *English* Spirit, in opposing all the bad Desires of Men with Foreign Hearts.

WEDNESDAY, 19.

This Morning, *Thomas Rounce*, condemn'd for High Treason, in fighting against his King and Country on board a *Spanish Privateer*, (see our Mag. for Dec. last, p. 621.) was carried from *Newgate* on a Hurdle, drawn by four Horses, adorn'd with Ribbands, to *Execution-Dock*. One of the Sheriffs Officers carried a Silver Oar before him. *Jack Ketch* rode upon the Hurdle, dress'd in a white Frock, with a Knife and Steel by his Side, and a drawn Scymetar in his Hand. After he had hung about 15 Minutes, the Executioner cut him down, ript up his Belly, and threw his Heart and Bowels into a Fire prepar'd for that Purpose. He was then quarter'd, and his Quarters put into a Coffin, and deliver'd to his Friends. This is the only Execution of the Kind, and for such a Crime, since the Year 1708, in the Time of Q. Anne's War.

The same Day the Sessions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when the 11 following Malefactors receiv'd Sentence of Death, viz. *Thomas Dennis*, for stealing a Mare.—*Will. Bland*, for robbing Mr. *William Blacknell* in *Bridges-street, Covent-Garden*.—*Bryan Cooley*, for robbing Mr. *Joseph Emmerton*, of a Cane.—*Will. Burnett*, for robbing Mr. *Bailey* on the Highway.—*John Tigbe*, a Victualler and Coachman at *Chatbam* (who was committed by the Court of King's-Bench last Michaelmas Term) for uttering and publishing a false, forged, and counterfeit Release, knowing it to be so.—*Patrick Kelly*, *Katherine Kelly*, *Garret Cavenagh*, and *Honor Cavenagh*, for High Treason, in filing and washing Halfpence and Farthings to make them resemble and pass for Shillings and Six-pences.—*Tbo. Cummins*, for a Street-Robbery. And *Daniel Wicket*, for robbing *Sarah Smith* near *Aston*.

THURSDAY, 20.

The Anniversary of the Birth of his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales* was celebrated, when his Royal Highness enter'd into the 37th Year of his Age.

About One in the Morning a Duel was fought in the *Tilt-Yard Coffee-House, White-ball*, between Capt. *Wilson* and Capt. *Skerret*, of Col. *Foulk's Regiment*. The latter was run thro' the Body and dy'd instantly, and the former made his Escape, leaving his Sword behind him. It seems they had quarrel'd in the Street, and were parted by some of the *Centinels* before they went into the

Coffee-House. The Coroner's Inquest brought in their Verdict *Manslaughter*.

The Freedom of the City of London was presented in a Gold Box to Admiral Vernon.

SUNDAY, 23.

The Court went into Mourning for the late Elector Palatine.

MONDAY, 24.

A Pardon pass'd the Great Seal to *Samuel Batters*, late Master of his Majesty's Ship the *Tartar*, of all Indictments, Iquisitions, &c. concerning the Death and killing of *James Radford*, a Seaman belonging to the Merchant Ship call'd the *Cæsar*. (See the Memorial of the Merchants against the said *Batters*, in our *Mag.* for Sept. last, p. 462; and the above Letter from the *London-Evening Post*.)

Admiral *Vernon* went to *Guildhall*, and took the Oaths as a Freeman of *London*, when he express'd his grateful Sense of the Honour the City had done him, and gave the Chamberlain 100*l.* to be distributed among such poor Freemen as he should think proper.

TUESDAY, 25.

Arriv'd an Express, with Advice that the States of *Holland* have come to a Resolution of sending 20,000 Men immediately to join the Forces in *British Pay*, in order to succour the Queen of *Hungary*, over and above 20,000 which are going to garrison the Barrier Towns.

WEDNESDAY, 26.

John Waite was brought to Town from *Ireland*, and the next Day, after a long Examination before Lord Chief Justice *Lees*, was committed to *Newgate*.

THURSDAY, 27.

Was held a General Court of the S. S. Company, when a Dividend of 1 3 4ths was declared due on the Company's Stock for the Half-Year's Interest at *Christmas* last, payable on Feb. 7. At the same Time a Motion was made, that on Mr. *Knight*'s paying 10,000*l.* he should be discharg'd; but Debates arising, a Motion was made, that the same be decided by Ballot next *Thursday*, which was agreed to.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

JOHN *James*, of *More-Court* in *Herefordshire*, Esq; to Miss *Price*.

— *Rose*, of *Warwickshire*, Esq; to Miss *Hoskins*.

— *Frere*, Esq; at *Buckingham* in *Kent*, to Miss *Burrell*, Daughter of *Peter Burrell*, Esq; Sub-Governor of the S. S. Company.

Thomas Best, Esq; Memb. of Parl. for *Canterbury*, to Miss *Caroline Scott*.

Mr. William Hewitt, an eminent Surgeon in *Cavendish-Square*, to Miss *Morrice*, Daughter of the late Admiral *Morrice*.

Miles Britton, of *Kent*, Esq; to Miss *Whitfield*.

Rev. Mr. Holt, Curate of *Queen's-Square Chapel*, to Miss *Lucas*.

George Mackenzie, Esq; only Son of Lord *Boynton*, to Miss *Isabella Stuart*.

Rev. Dr. Younger, Vicar of St. *Nicholas's* in *Guildford*, to the Lady *Godscall*, Relict of Sir *Robert Godscall*, Knt. late Lord Mayor of *London*.

Rev. Mr. Tanner, Son of the late Bishop *Tanner*, to Miss *Potter*, one of the Daughters of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Thomas Beale, Esq; to Miss *Spence*.

Countess of *Clanrickard* deliver'd of a Son. Duchess of *Bedford*, of a Daughter.

The Lady of *Simon Luttrell*, of *Ireland*, Esq; of a Daughter.

DEATHS.

ABR. *Ball*, Esq; Chief Clerk in the Office in the Exchequer for circulating Exchequer Bills.

Lady *Shaw*, Relict of the late Sir *John Shaw*, of *Eltbam* in *Kent*, Bart.

Rev. Charles Ley, M. A. Minister of St. *James's Clerkenwell*, and Rector of *Bishop Wickham*, and of *Sutton*, both in *Essex*.

Hon. Richard Pieron, Esq; Colonel in the First Reg. of Foot Guards, commanded by his Royal Highness the Duke.

Mr. John Eddowes, Attorney at Law, at *Adderbury* in *Oxfordshire*.

Rev. Dr. Andrew Snape, Canon of *Windsor*, Fellow of *Eton*, and Provost of *King's College*, *Cambridge*.

Lady *Betty Compton*, Sister to the Earl of *Northampton*.

The Lady of the Rt. Rev. Dr. *Benjamin Hoadley*, Lord Bishop of *Winchester*.

Rt. Hon. William Capel, Earl of *Essex*, Visc. *Malden*, Baron of *Hadham*, Lord Lieut. and Custos Rotulorum of the County of *Hertford*, First Lord of the Bed-Chamber to his Majesty, Captain of the Yeomen of the Guards, and Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter.

Lady *Charlotte de Rucy*, a French Lady, who has resided here on Account of her Religion ever since K. *William's* Reign.

Nicholas Grace, Esq; late one of the Cashiers of the Bank.

William Harvey, Esq; one of the Veruders of *Epping-Forest*.

Rev. Dr. Gosling, Archdeacon of *Bath* and *Wells*.

Rev. Dr. Bedford, Vicar of *Luton* in *Bedfordshire*.

Judge *Rose*, one of the Justices of the King's-Bench in *Ireland*.

Thomas Morgan, M. D. Author of several polemical Pieces in Theology, and of the *Mechanical Practice of Physick*.

William Sloper, of *Wood-Haye* in *Berks*, Esq; Memb. of Parl. for *Whiteburch* in *Hants*, and Deputy Cofferer to his Majesty.

Dr. Edmund Warneford, an eminent Physician, at *Wells* in *Somersetshire*.

William Goodgrome, of *Charterhouse-Square*, Esq; suddenly.

Cha. Green, Esq; *Lancaster Herald at Arms*.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

MR. George Bracebridge, to the Rectory of Taplow in Bucks.

Mr. James Wyndham, to the Vicarage of Washbrooke and Rectory of Copdock in Suffolk.

Mr. John Griffith, to the Rectory of Legbley, otherwise Leatbley, in Yorkshire.

Mr. Robert Hugber, to the Rectory of Mary Major in Wallingford, with the Chapel of Salkwell, in Bucks.

Mr. Gilbert Burnet, Vicar of Coggeshall in Essex, unanimously chosen Curate or Minister of St. James's Clerkenwell, by the Inhabitants, (who have the Right of Presentation) in the Room of Mr. Charles Ley, deceas'd.

Matthew Whitaker, A. B. presented to the Vicarage of Bramingham, in the Diocese of York.

Mr. Morant, to the Rectory of Bishop Wickham in Essex, in the Room of the above-mention'd Mr. Ley.

Mr. Butts, Son to the Bishop of Ely, to the Vicarage of Haddenham in Cambridgeshire.

Mr. James Westfaling, to the Rectory of Hope-Mensel in Herefordshire.

Mr. Andrew Pern, to the Rectory of Norton in Suffolk.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

WILLIAM Adair, Esq; made Secretary of Virginia.—James Long, Esq; made Col. of a Marine Reg. of Foot.—Capt. Moses, Memb. for Malton, made Col. of a Comp. in the Second Reg. of Foot Guards.—Lieut. Gore, made Capt. of a Comp. in Col. Pavlet's Reg. of Marines.—John Wynne, Esq;

Memb. for Denbigh, made Deputy Cofferer of his Majesty's Household, in the Room of William Sloper, Esq; deceas'd.—Lord Berkeley of Stratton, made Capt. of the Yeomen of the Guards, in the Room of the Earl of Essex, deceas'd.—Capt. Hildsley, of the First Reg. of Foot Guards, made Gentleman Usher to the Prince of Wales.—John Burnaby, Esq; appointed his Majesty's Minister to the Swiss Cantons.—Thomas Durell, Esq; appointed Viscount of the Isle of Jersey.

Sheriffs appointed for the following Counties, viz.

For Bedf. John Capin.—Bucks, Cha. Price.—Heref. John Simmonds.—Northamp. Valentine Knightly.—Salop, Tho. Langley, Esqrs.—Staff. Sir Rob. Lawley, Bt. For S. Wales: Pembrokeſ. David Painter, Esq; N. Wales: Angleſea, Hugh Williams.—Carnarv. Edw. Philip Pugh.—Merionetſ. Maurice Jones, Esqrs.

Persons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

ROBERT Groome, of Butolph-Lane, Orange Merchant.—Edm. Boteler, of Idle Lane, Cooper.—Edm. Skeafe, late of Woodstock, Innholder.—Will. Lee, late of Leicester, Currier.—Will. Fox the Younger, and George Fox, both of Warwick, Maltsters.—Johas Craven, of Bradford in Yorkshire, Maltman.—Enoch Knowles, of St. Bartholomew the Less, Mercer.—Cha. Mist, late of Wardour-Street, in St. Anne's, Westminster, Paviour.—Tho. Millington, of Wibam in Essex, Linen-Draper.—Will. Williams, of Nosterfield in Yorkshire, Dealer.—John Scott, late of St. James's, Westminster, Leather-seller.

S T O C K S.

S. Sea 111 $\frac{1}{2}$	African 10
—Ann: 114 $\frac{1}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{4}$	Royal Aff. 82 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bank 145 a 145 $\frac{1}{4}$	Lon. ditto 11 $\frac{1}{8}$
—Circ. 4l 25 6d.	3 p. C. Ann. 101 $\frac{1}{8}$
M. Bank 118	Salt Tallies 2l
India Nothing	Emp. Loan 111 $\frac{1}{4}$
—Bonds 4l 10s	Equio. 110

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amſt. 34 10 2 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	Bilboa 39 $\frac{1}{2}$
D. Sight 34 6 a 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	Logborn 50 $\frac{1}{4}$
Rotter. 35	Genoa 53 $\frac{1}{4}$ a $\frac{1}{3}$
Hamb. 33 8 z $\frac{1}{2}$	Venice 51 a $\frac{1}{8}$
Paris 31 $\frac{1}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{4}$	Lisbon 55 5d $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{8}$
Bourd. 31 $\frac{1}{4}$	Porto 55 5d $\frac{1}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{4}$
Cadiz 39 $\frac{1}{2}$	Antw. 35 5
Madrid 39 $\frac{1}{2}$	Dublin 10

Prices of Goods at Bear-Key.

Wheat 22 23 6	Pease 19 21
Rye 17 18 6	H. Pease 24 27
Barley 15 17	H. Beans 18 20
Oats 10 12 6	B. Malt 20 22 6
Varey 26 31	P. Malt 22 24

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from Dec. 21. to Jan. 25.

Christned	5 Males 760	3 Females 777	1537
Buried	5 Males 1230	3 Females 1314	2544
Died under 2 Years old			844
Between 2 and 5 Years old	5	10	73
	10	20	64
	20	30	183
	30	40	237
	40	50	298
	50	60	202
	60	70	161
	70	80	154
	80	90	76
90 and upwards			11

Hay 60 to 63. a Load,

IN

IN Confirmation of what we just mention'd in our last, we have since had an Account, that on the 7th of last Month O. S. at four in the Morning, the French Army under Marshal Bellisle, to the Number 11,000 Foot and 3250 Horse, marched out of Prague, having left a Garrison of but 1800 Men, besides about 2000 sick and wounded Soldiers in that City. Their Design was concealed under the Pretence of their marching out to make a Sally upon the Enemy; so that Prince Lobkowitz the Austrian General, who was then at about 5 Leagues distance, did not hear of their Design, till the Day after they had marched. As soon as he heard of it he detached General Nadaffi with the Hungarian Cavalry and a Body of Hussars to pursue them, whilst he followed with the rest of his Army. The Horse and Hussars soon came up with them, and often attack'd them in their Route; but as the rest of the Army could not come up to support them they could do nothing but Skirmish, and pick up now and then a few Prisoners, and some of the Baggage Waggons. The French continued their March with the greatest Diligence, but with the utmost Difficulty; for they had not only bad Roads and excessive cold Weather to struggle with, but Austrian Hussars in their Front, Flank, and Rear, so that they were forced to march the whole Way in but one Column, in order to protect their Artillery and Baggage. However, they arrived at Egra upon the 13th, having lost upon their Route, by Cold and Fatigue, and by the Enemy, near 3000 Men, as may be computed at a Medium between the different Accounts of this extraordinary March. From Egra, it is said by our last Accounts, that they are marching towards Alsace, and are to be joined in their Route by some Regiments from Bavaria and other Places, so as to make up in all a Body of about 24,000 Men.

When Prince Lobkowitz found he could not come up with the French, he returned with his Army, and invested Prague on the 14th. The French Commandant, M. de Cbrevers, according to his Orders, proposed immediately to capitulate, and on the 16th surrendered the Place, upon Condition, that the Garrison, should march out with all the Honours of War, and be conducted to Egra, with as many of the sick Soldiers as could follow them, and the rest to remain Prisoners of War.

When every one thought, the Spanish and Piedmontese Armies would have gone into Winter Quarters, a very extraordinary Turn has happened in that Part of the World. The Spanish Army notwithstanding the Season of the Year, advanced into Savoy, and upon the 8th of last Month a Detachment from that Army attack'd and took the Castle of Alpremont, the Garrison, consisting of about 200 Men, having surrendered Prisoners of

War. The King of Sardinia, instead of venturing a Battle, retired as the Spaniards advanced; and upon the 19th in the Morning Don Philip, or rather the Marquis de las Minas, being informed, that he had removed from Montmelian, and was retiring into Piedmont, Lieutenant General Don Joseph de Aramburu was detached with a large Body of Troops to pursue that Column of the Piedmontese Army that was marching towards Little St. Bernard; and Major General Don Pedro Garcia was detached with another large Body of Troops to pursue that Column which was marching towards Mount Cenis. The latter came up with the Rear Guard of the Piedmontese, on the 22d, near Aiguebelle, and attacked a fortified Post which was defended by 200 Grenadiers, some Militia, and six Battalions of regular Troops: The Action was sharp and lasted above two Hours, but the Spaniards at last carried their Point, and likewise obliged the Enemy to abandon Aiguebelle. Don Joseph Aramburu, on his Side, attacked and took two Posts near Aigueblane, which were defended by six Companies of Grenadiers; and according to the Spanish Account they have had very few Men killed or wounded in either of these Attacks, which is all the Blood the Duchy of Savoy has cost them, for the Piedmontese Troops are all retired into Piedmont, his Sardinian Majesty is gone to Turin, and Don Philip is again in Possession of Chambery and the whole Duchy of Savoy.

The brave Corsicans have again taken Arms in vindication of their Liberties against the Genoese. A Body of 2000 of them is already got together, and a general Revolt is every Day expected.

On the 17th Instant the great Cardinal Fleury, Prime Minister to the King of France, died at his Palace at Issy near Paris.

The Diet of Sweden have resolved not to meddle with the Succession to their Crown, till the Peace with Russia be concluded and ratified, which does not seem very favourable for the Bishop of Lubeck; for that Peace may not be so near, perhaps, as was expected some Weeks ago; The Swedes will certainly become more obstinate; because by late Accounts the Persians have began Hostilities against the Russians upon the Coast of the Caspian Sea, and demand a Restitution of all that was conquered from them by the Czar Peter the Great: This will give the Swedes some Hopes of being able to reconquer Finland, which will make them unwilling to give up their Right, and the Russians will not easily give up their Possession.

By our last Accounts from Flanders we hear, that the British Troops marched from Bruges the 16th Instant; and that the Hapsburgians are to march the 4th of next Month, and the Hessians the Day after.

POETRY.

1. THE Odes, Epodes, and Carmen Selectulae of *Horace*; with critical Notes, and a poetical Translation. By the Rev. Mr. Philip Francis. In 2 Vols 8vo. Printed for A. Millar, price 10s. half bound.
2. *Vida's Art of Poetry*. Translated into English. By Mr. Pitt. Printed for R. Dodsley, price 2s. 6d.
3. *Templum Libertatis. Liber II.* Printed for C. Batburst, and G. Hawkins, pr. 1s. 6d.
4. The Difference between Keeping and Marriage. Printed for W. Webb, price 6d.
5. The Wife and the Nurse, a new Ballad. Printed for W. Webb, price 6d.
6. *Eickerstaff's unburied Dead*, a moral Drama. Printed for B. Dodd, price 1s.
7. Court and Country; or, The Change-lings. A new Ballad Opera. Printed for W. Webb, price 1s.
8. The Emulation of the Insects; or, A Minister chosen, A Fable. Printed for T. Cooper, price 6d.
9. The New Ministry; containing a Collection of all the satirical Poems, Songs, &c. since the Beginning of the Year 1742. Printed for W. Webb, price 6d.
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POLITICAL.

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our Army in Flanders. Printed for J. Roberts, price 1s.

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PHYSICAL and MISCELLANEOUS.

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SERMONS.

34. A Sermon preach'd on the Day of Election of a Lord Mayor. By S. Smith, L.L.B. Printed for W. Meadowes, price 6d.
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